

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

DEPARTMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGY
CENTRAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL
LIBRARY

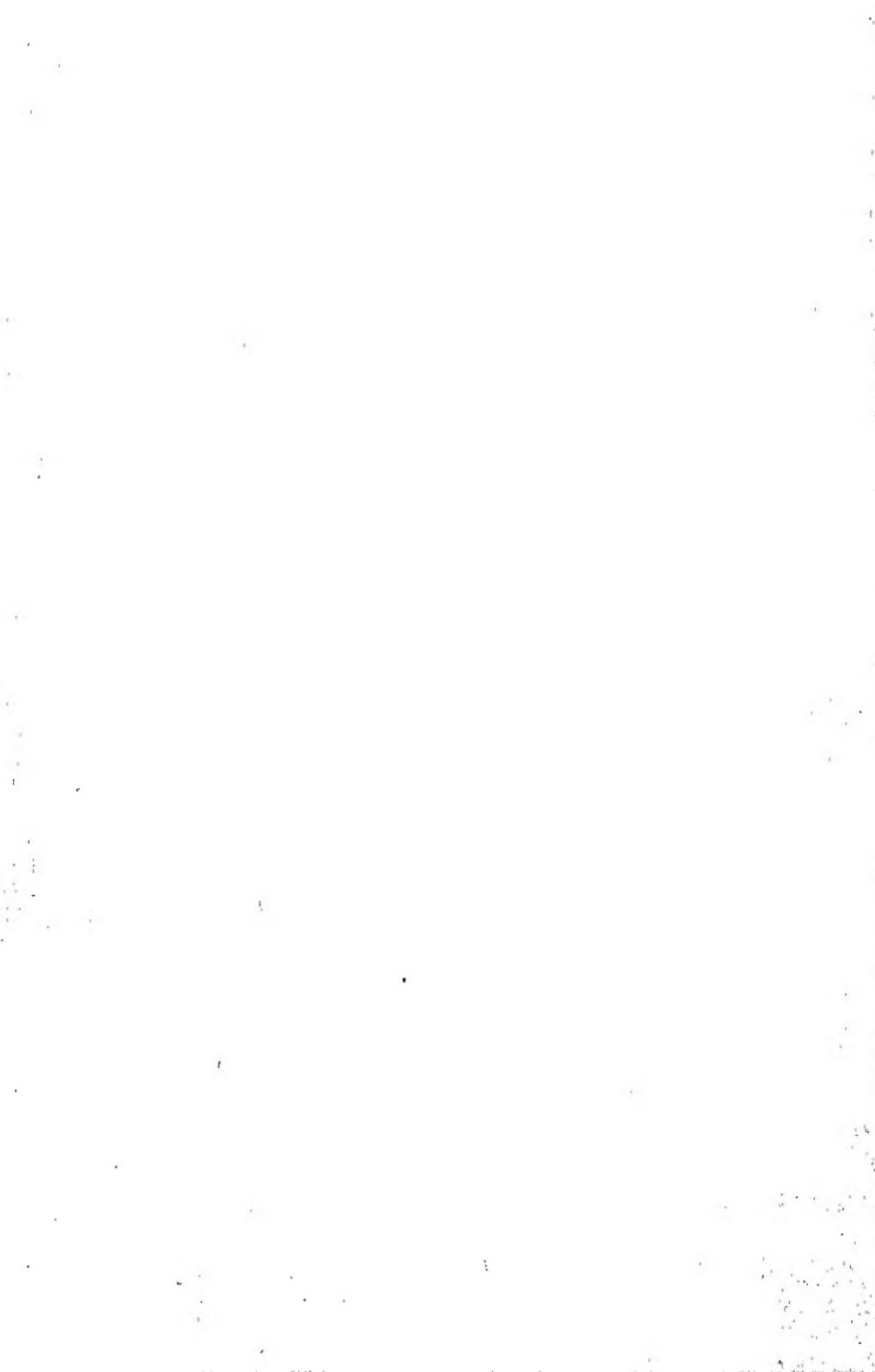
CLASS

CALL NO 880.4 *Dios-cor*

Vol-II

D.G.A. 79.





THE LOEB CLASSICAL LIBRARY

FOUNDED BY JAMES LOEB, LL.D.

EDITED BY

† T. E. PAGE, C.H., LITT.D.

E. CAPPS, PH.D., LL.D.

W. H. D. ROUSE, LITT.D.

L. A. POST, M.A.

E. H. WARMINGTON,

M.A., F.R.HIST.SOC.

DIO CHIRYSOSTOM

II



DIO CHRYSOSTOM

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
J. W. COHOON, PH.D.
MOUNT ALLISON UNIVERSITY, SACKVILLE, N.B., CANADA

IN FIVE VOLUMES

II 921

880-4
Dio/Coh.



LONDON
WILLIAM HEINEMANN LTD
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS
HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS
MCMXL

*First printed 1939
Reprinted 1950*

**CENTRAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL
LIBRARY NEW DELHI.**

Acc. No 921

Date 29-1-54

Sl. No..... 8804 / Dio / cat.

Printed in Great Britain

CONTENTS

	PAGE
THE TWELFTH, OR OLYMPIC, DISCOURSE : ON MAN'S FIRST CONCEPTION OF GOD	1
THE THIRTEENTH DISCOURSE : ABOUT HIS BANISH- MENT	89
THE FOURTEENTH DISCOURSE : ON SLAVERY AND FREEDOM I	123
THE FIFTEENTH DISCOURSE : ON SLAVERY AND FREEDOM II	143
THE SIXTEENTH DISCOURSE : ON PAIN AND DISTRESS OF SPIRIT	175
THE SEVENTEENTH DISCOURSE : ON COVETOUSNESS	187
THE EIGHTEENTH DISCOURSE : ON TRAINING FOR PUBLIC SPEAKING	209
THE NINETEENTH DISCOURSE : ON THE AUTHOR'S FONDNESS FOR LISTENING	235
THE TWENTIETH DISCOURSE : ON RETIREMENT	245
THE TWENTY-FIRST DISCOURSE : ON BEAUTY	271
THE TWENTY-SECOND DISCOURSE : CONCERNING PEACE AND WAR	291
THE TWENTY-THIRD DISCOURSE : THE WISE MAN IS HAPPY	301

CONTENTS

	PAGE
THE TWENTY-FOURTH DISCOURSE: ON HAPPINESS	317
THE TWENTY-FIFTH DISCOURSE: ON THE GUIDING SPIRIT	323
THE TWENTY-SIXTH DISCOURSE: ON DELIBERATION	337
THE TWENTY-SEVENTH DISCOURSE: ON SYMPOSIA	347
THE TWENTY-EIGHTH DISCOURSE: MELANCOMAS II	357
THE TWENTY-NINTH DISCOURSE: MELANCOMAS I	373
THE THIRTIETH DISCOURSE: CHARIDEMUS	395
INDEX	437

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

THE TWELFTH OR OLYMPIC DISCOURSE: OR, ON MAN'S FIRST CONCEPTION OF GOD

THE Olympic Discourse was delivered by Dio at Olympia in the year A.D. 97 before a large audience of Greeks which had come to the city to witness the games, and in sight of the famous statue of Zeus which had been made by Pheidias, the greatest of Greek sculptors, more than five centuries before.

After his introductory remarks, in which he tells us that he has just returned from the Danube, where the Roman army under Trajan was about to begin the Second Dacian War, he raises the question as to whether he shall tell his hearers about the land of the Dacians and the impending war, or take a subject suggested by the god in whose presence they stood. He chooses the latter and, after explaining that a conception of the nature of the gods, and especially of the highest one, is innate in all mankind, and that this innate conception and belief is strengthened by men's experiences and observations in the world around them, Dio gives a classification of the way in which a conception of and a belief in their existence are implanted in the minds of men. In section 39 he makes a classification into notions innate and notions acquired. Then in section 44 and following he subdivides the acquired notions into (1) the voluntary and hortatory, given by the poets, (2) the compulsory and prescriptive, given by the lawgivers, (3) those given by the painters and sculptors, and (4) the notions and concepts as set forth and expounded by the philosophers. He is careful, however, to point out that the poets, lawgivers, and sculptors and others would have

THE TWELFTH, OR OLYMPIC, DISCOURSE

no influence whatever if it were not for that primary and innate notion.

After this the speaker proceeds to what is the most important part of his address, in which he offers a great wealth of apparently original ideas as to what is the field and function of the plastic arts and what are their limitations. He puts his thoughts on this subject into the mouth of Pheidias, who takes the specific case of his own great statue of Zeus and attempts to show that he has used all the resources of the sculptor's art in producing a worthy statue of the greatest of the gods. Pheidias in the course of his exposition says among other things that he took his conception of Zeus from Homer, and he makes a detailed comparison between the respective capacities of poetry and sculpture to portray and represent, to the decided advantage of poetry.

No ancient writer up to Dio's time, whose works are extant, has given us such a full treatment of the subject. The others, such as Plutarch, make just a passing reference to the plastic arts. Certainly no one of them has made such a detailed comparison between them and poetry. Not until we come to Flavius Josephus do we find such a treatment of the subject, and Dio by many centuries anticipated the most important principles upon which the theory of Lessing's *Laokoön* is based.

Paul Hagen, however, in his *Quaestiones Dionaeae* (Kiliae 1887) attempts with some success to show by a comparison with certain passages in Cicero, Pliny, and Quintilian that Dio was not original in these theories of art, but got them from Pergamum, where there was a famous school of sculpture flourishing at this time. The best known example of its work is the 'Dying Gaul,' now in the Capitoline Museum in Rome. Dio certainly was within easy reach of Pergamum at any rate. If he was not original in his ideas on art, he was at all events greatly interested in it, as is shown by his Thirty-First Discourse.

Some maintain that Dio gave this address on more than one occasion and that traces of different recensions to make the address suit different places and audiences are to be found in the versions that have come down to us.

ΔΙΩΝ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΣ

12. ΟΛΥΜΠΙΚΟΣ Η ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΠΡΩΤΗΣ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΕΝΝΟΙΑΣ

- 1 'Αλλ' ἦ τὸ λεγόμενον, ὡς ἄνδρες, ἐγὼ καὶ παρ' ὑμῖν καὶ παρ' ἑτέροις πλείστι πέπονθα τὸ τῆς γλαυκὸς ἄτοπον καὶ παράδοξον πάθος; ἐκεánην γὰρ οὐδὲν σοφωτέραν αὐτῶν οὖσαν οὐδὲ βελτίω τὸ εἶδος, ἀλλὰ τοιαύτην ὅποιαν ἵσμεν, ὅταν δήποτε φθέγξηται λυπηρὸν καὶ οὐδαμῶς ἥδυ, περιέπουσι τὰ ἄλλα ὅρνεα, καὶ ὅταν γε ἴδῃ μόνον, τὰ μὲν καθιζόμενα ἔγγυς, τὰ δὲ κύκλῳ περιπετόμενα, ὡς μὲν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, καταφρονοῦντα τῆς φαυλότητος καὶ τῆς ἀσθενείας· οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποί φασιν ὅτι θαυμάζει τὴν γλαῦκα τὰ ὅρνεα.
- 2 Πῶς δὲ οὐ τὸν ταῦτα μᾶλλον ὄρῶντα θαυμάζει, καλὸν οὕτω καὶ ποικίλον, ἔτι δ' αὖ τοι¹ ἐπαι-

¹ δ' αὖ τοι Capps: δὲ αὐτὸν.

¹ This opening reminds one of Socrates' words at the opening of Plato's *Gorgias* (447 a) ἀλλ' ἦ τὸ λεγόμενον, κατόπιν ἔορτῆς ἥκομεν καὶ ὑστεροῦμεν—"Well, have I come when the feast is over, to use a familiar saying, and am I late?"

καὶ παρ' ὑμῖν καὶ παρ' ἑτέροις πλέοστ was evidently a proverbial expression. It occurs in almost the same form, καὶ παρ' ὑμῖν καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις, at the beginning of Dio's Second Tarsian Discourse.

Dio's words are prompted by the sight of the vast throng

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

THE OLYMPIC DISCOURSE: OR, ON MAN'S FIRST CONCEPTION OF GOD

CAN it be, Sirs, that here before you, just as before many another audience—to use a familiar saying¹—I have met with the strange and inexplicable experience of the owl? For though she is no whit wiser than the other birds nor more beautiful in appearance, but on the contrary only what we know her to be, yet whenever she utters her mournful and far from pleasing note, they all flock to her²—yes, and even when they merely see her, some alighting near and others circling about her, the reason being, as it seems to me, that they look with scorn upon her insignificance and weakness; and yet people in general say that the birds admire the owl.

Surely, however, the birds ought rather to admire the peacock when they see him, beautiful and many-coloured as he is, and then again truly when he lifts

assembled to hear him in the Altis, Ἀλτη, at Olympia, before the temple of Zeus with its ἀντερόν, statue of that god, resplendent in ivory and gold. He also refers to the greatness of his audience in § 15.

² Plutarch (*Nicias* 1. 9. 4) quotes Timaeus as saying τῷ Γυλίππῳ φανέντι καθάπερ γλαυκὶ πολλοὶ προσέπτησαν ἐτούμως στρατευόμενοι—“When Gylippus showed himself, many flocked to him, as birds to an owl, with offers of military service.”

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

ρόμενον καὶ ἐπιδεικνύντα τὸ κάλλος τῶν πτερῶν,
 ὅταν ἀβρύνηται πρὸς τὴν θήλειαν, ἀνακλάσας τὴν
 οὐρὰν καὶ περιστήσας αὐτῷ πανταχόθεν ὥσπερ
 εὐειδὲς θέατρον ἡ τινα γραφῇ μιμηθέντα οὐρανὸν
 ποικίλον ἄστροις, σύν γε τῷ λοιπῷ χρώματι¹
 θαυμαστόν, ἐγγύτατα χρυσοῦ κυάνῳ κεκραμένου,
 καὶ δὴ ἐν ἄκροις τοῖς πτεροῖς οἰον ὀφθαλμῶν ἐνόν-
 των ἡ τινῶν δακτυλίων τό τε σχῆμα καὶ κατὰ τὴν
 3 ἄλλην ὁμοιότητα; εἰ δ' αὖτις τι ἐθέλεις, σκοπεῖ²
 τῆς πτερώσεως τὸ κοῦφον, ὡς μὴ χαλεπὸν εἶναι
 μηδὲ δύσφορον διὰ τὸ μῆκος. ἐν μέσῳ μάλα
 ἥσυχον καὶ ἀτρεμοῦντα παρέχει θεάσασθαι ἐαυτόν,
 ὥσπερ ἐν πομπῇ περιστρεφόμενος· ὅταν δὲ
 βουληθῇ ἐκπλῆξαι, σείων τὰ πτερὰ καὶ τινὰ ἦχον
 οὐκ ἀηδῆ ποιῶν, οἷον ἀνέμου κινήσαντος οὐ
 πολλοῦ πυκνήν τινα ὕλην.

'Αλλ' οὔτε τὸν ταῦθα πάντα ταῦτα καλλωπι-
 ζόμενον τὰ ὄρνεα βούλεται ὄρāν οὔτε τῆς ἀηδόνος
 ἀκούοντα τῆς φωνῆς ἔωθεν ἐπορθητοῦ ἐίπης οὐ-
 4 δὲν πάσχει πρὸς αὐτήν, ἀλλ' οὐτὲ τὸν κύκνον
 ἀσπάζεται διὰ τὴν μουσικήν, οὐδὲ ὅταν ὑμνῇ
 τὴν ὑστάτην ὠδὴν ἀτε εὐγήρως, ὑπὸ ἥδονῆς τε
 καὶ λήθης τῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ χαλεπῶν εὐφημῶν ἄμα
 καὶ προπέμπων ἀλύπτως αὐτόν, ὡς ἔσικε, πρὸς
 ἀλυπὸν τὸν θάνατον—οὕκουν οὐδὲ τότε ἀθροίζεται
 κηλούμενα τοῖς μέλεσι πρὸς ὅχθην ποταμοῦ

¹ χρώματι Arnim: σώματι.

² ἔτι τι ἐθέλεις, σκοπεῖ Capps, cf. Plato, *Alcib.* I, 122 c: ἔτι τις ἐθέλοις (οτι θέλοις) σκοπεῖν.

¹ Horace (*Satires* 2. 2. 26) says of the peacock, "spreads out a 'παιχτία' with its painted tail"—pieta pandat
 ηγένεται παιχτία... By Achilleus Tatius (p. 22) the peacock

THE TWELFTH, OR OLYMPIC, DISCOURSE

himself up in pride and shows the beauty of his plumage, as he struts before his hen with his tail spread out and arched all about him like a fair-shaped theatre¹ or some picture of the heavens studded with stars—a figure well deserving of admiration for the colouring also, which is nearest to gold blended with dark blue; and then too on the tips of his feathers there are eyes, as it were, or markings like rings both in shape and in their general similitude. And, if you want something further, observe the lightness of his plumage, so light indeed that it is not an encumbrance nor hard to carry on account of its length. In the centre of it he offers himself to the spectator's gaze, quite calm and unconcerned, turning himself this way and that as if on parade; and when he wishes really to astound us, he rustles his feathers and makes a sound not unpleasing, as of a light breeze stirring some thick wood.

But it is not the peacock with all this fine display that the birds want to see, nor when they hear the song of the nightingale as she rises at early dawn are they at all affected by her—nay, not even the swan² do they greet on account of its music, not even when in the fullness of years it sings its last song, and through joy, and because it has forgotten the troubles of life, utters its triumphant notes and at the same time without sorrow conducts itself, as it seems, to a sorrowless death—even then, I say, the birds are not so charmed by its strains that they

is said “to display the ‘theatre’ of its feathers”: *τὸ θέατρον ἐπιδεικνύναι τῶν πτερῶν*—the likeness being in the theatre-shaped expanse of the tail-feathers.

² Just as Dio, the philosopher, is represented by the owl, so is the sophist represented by the peacock, and the poets by the nightingale and the swan.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

τυνος ἡ λειμῶνα πλατὺν ἡ καθαρὰν ἥόνα λίμνης
ἡ τινα σμικρὰν εὐθαλῆ ποταμίαν ησῖδα.

5 'Ως δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς τοσαῦτα μὲν θεάματα ἔχοντες
τερπνά, τοσαῦτα δὲ ἀκούσματα, τοῦτο μὲν ρήτορας
δεινούς, τοῦτο δὲ ἔυγγραφέας ἥδιστους ἐμμέτρων
καὶ ἀμέτρων λόγων, τοῦτο δέ, ὡς¹ τῶς ποικί-
λους, πολλοὺς² σοφιστάς, δόξη καὶ μαθηταῖς
ἐπαιρομένους οἰνον πτεροῖς, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐμοὶ πρόσιτε
καὶ βούλεσθε ἀκούειν, τοῦ μηδὲν εἴδότος μηδὲ
φάσκοντος εἴδέναι, ἀρ' οὐκ ὄρθιῶς ἀπεικάζω τὴν
σπουδὴν ὑμῶν τῷ περὶ τὴν γλαῦκα γιγνομένῳ
σχεδὸν οὐκ ἄνευ δαιμονίας τυὸς βουλήσεως;
6 ὑφ' ἣς καὶ τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ λέγεται προσφιλὲς εἶναι τὸ
ὄρνεον, τῇ καλλίστῃ τῶν θεῶν καὶ σοφωτάτῃ,
καὶ τῆς γε³ Φειδίου τέχνης παρὰ Ἀθηναίοις
ἔτυχεν, οὐκ ἀπαξιώσαντος αὐτὴν συγκαθιδρῦσαι
τῇ θεῷ, συνδοκοῦν τῷ δῆμῳ. Περικλέα δὲ καὶ

¹ ὡς added by Capps.

² τοῦτο δὲ ὡς before πολλοὺς deleted by Capps.

³ γε Reiske : τε.

¹ The words 'on some river's bank . . . in a rivor' are somewhat reminiscent of Homer (*Iliad* 2. 459–462):

"As many tribes of winged fowl, wild geese or cranes or long-necked swans, upon the Asian mead about Caÿstrius' streams, fly hither and thither, rejoicing in their wings and clamouring as they alight, while the mead resounds."

. . . ὡς τῷ ὄρνιθων πετειηνῶν ἔθνεα πολλά,
χηνῶν ἡ γεράνων ἡ κύκνων δουλιχοδείρων,
Ἄσιψ ἐν λειμῶνι, Καῦστροιον ἀμφὶ ρέεθρα,
ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα ποτῶνται ὄγαλλόμενα πτερύγεσσιν,
κλαγγηδὸν προκαβίζοντων, σμαραγεῖ δέ τε λειμῶν.

THE TWELFTH, OR OLYMPIC, DISCOURSE

gather on some river's bank or on a broad mead or the clean strand of a mere, or on some tiny green islet in a river.¹

And since you likewise, though having so many delightful spectacles to behold, and so many things to hear—able orators, most charming writers of both verse and prose, and finally, like gorgeous peacocks, sophists in great numbers, men who are lifted aloft as on wings by their fame and disciples²—since you, I say, despite all these attractions, draw near and wish to listen to me, a man who knows nothing and makes no claim to knowing, am I not right in likening your interest to that which the birds take in the owl, one might almost say not without some divine purpose? This purpose is seen in men's belief that this bird is beloved of Athenê also, the fairest of the gods and the wisest, and indeed at Athens it was honoured by the art of Pheidias, who did not count the owl unworthy to share a dedication with the goddess, the popular assembly approving; but Pericles and his own self

Themistius (336c) censures the sophists for using such language: "And do not think that I idly give myself airs with the swan and the nightingale, just as the elegant sophists, who embellish their speeches, use these birds as a sort of rouge"—καὶ μὴ με ἄλλως νομίσῃς ὥραιζεσθαι τῷ κύκνῳ καὶ τῇ ἀηδόνι, καθάπερ οἱ κομψοὶ σοφισταὶ οἱ κοσμοῦντες τοὺς λόγους οὐλὸν φυκίδας περιβάλλοντες τοῖς δρυνέοις.

² (cf. p. 111, n. 1; 78 a): "Theophrastus, admired for having many disciples"—Θεόφραστον ἐπὶ τῷ πολλοὺς μαθητὰς ἔχειν διηγεῖσθαι... and Theognis (237–239): "To you I have given wings, with which you will fly over the boundless main and every land, raised aloft, lightly"—

Σοὶ μὲν ἐγὼ πτέρ' ἔδωκα, σὺν οἷσ' ἐπὶ ἀπείρονα πόντον
πωτήσει καὶ γῆν πᾶσαν ἀειρόμενος
ῥήιδίως.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

αὐτὸν¹ λαθὼν ἐποίησεν, ὡς φασιν, ἐπὶ τῆς ἀσπίδος.

Οὐ μέντοι ταῦτά γε εὐτυχήματα νομίζειν ἔπεισί μοι τῆς γλαυκός, εἰ μή τινα φρόνησιν ἄρα 7 κέκτηται πλείω. δόθεν, οἷμαι, καὶ τὸν μῦθον Αἴσωπος ξυνέστησεν ὅτι σοφὴ οὖσα ξυνεβούλευε τοῖς ὄρνεοις τῆς δρυὸς ἐν ἀρχῇ φυομένης μὴ ἔᾶσαι, ἀλλ' ἀνελεῖν πάντα τρόπον· ἐπεισθαι γὰρ φάρμακον ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἄφυκτον, ύψος οὖς ἀλάσπονται, τὸν ἵξον. πάλιν δὲ τὸ λίνον τῶν ἀνθρώπων σπειρόντων, ἐκέλευε καὶ τοῦτο ἐκλέγειν τὸ σπέρμα. 8 μὴ γὰρ ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ φυῆσεσθαι. τρίτον δὲ ἰδοῦσα τοξευτὴν τινὰ ἄνδρα προέλεγεν ὅτι. Οὗτος δὲ ἀνήρ φθάσει ὑμᾶς τοῖς ὑμετέροις, πτεροῖς, πεζὸς ὥν αὐτὸς πτηνὰ ἐπιπέμπων βέλη.

Tὰ δὲ ἡπίστει τοῖς λόγοις καὶ ἀνόητον αὐτὴν

¹ αὐτὸν Jacobs: αὐτόν.

¹ Dio refers to the statue of Athenē Parthenos, the most famous of the statues of Athenē made by Pheidias. This statue, nearly 40 feet high, stood in the cella of the Parthenon and represented the goddess as just having stepped out of her chamber to accept the worship of her people. The face, hands, and feet, where flesh was exposed, were represented by ivory, the drapery and ornaments by pure gold.

According to Plutarch (*Pericles* 31. 4-5) Pheidias, in the battle of the Amazons represented on the outer side of the shield of the goddess, carved a figure that represented himself as a bald old man lifting a stone with both hands and also inserted a good likeness of Pericles fighting with an Amazon.

² Bird-lime was made from the juice of the mistletoe, which grows on the oak. Athenaeus (451 d) says it was also made from oak-gum.

THE TWELFTH, OR OLYMPIC, DISCOURSE

he depicted covertly, so we are told, on the shield of the goddess.¹

However, it does not occur to me to regard all this as good fortune on the part of the owl, unless she really does in fact possess some superior sagacity. And this, I imagine, is the reason why Aesop composed the fable in which he represents her as being wise and as advising the birds, when the first oak tree began to grow, not to let it happen, but by all means to destroy the plant; for, she explained, the tree would produce a drug from which none might escape, the bird-lime,² and they would be caught by it. Again, when men were sowing flax, she bade them pick up this seed also, since if it grew, no good would come from it.³ And in the third place, when she saw a man armed with a bow, she prophesied, saying: "Yonder man will outstrip you with the help of your own feathers, for though he is on foot himself, he will send feathered shafts after you."⁴

But the other birds mistrusted her words of warning.

³ Because nets for catching birds would be made from it.

⁴ The same idea is expressed by Aeschylus (frg. 139):

"So in the Libyan myth it is told
That once an eagle, stricken with a dart,
Said when he saw the fashion of the shaft,
'With our own feathers, not by others' hands,
Are we now smitten.'" (Plumptre's Translation.)

ώδ' ἔστι μύθων τῶν Λιβυστικῶν κλέος,
πληγέντ' ἀτράκτῳ τοξικῷ τὸν αἰετὸν
εἴπειν ἴδοντα μηχανὴν πτερώματος,
τάδ' οὐχ ὑπὸ ἄλλων, ἀλλὰ τοῖς αὐτῶν πτεροῖς
όλισκομεθα.

For the same idea in English poetry see Waller, *To a Lady singing a Song of his Composing*; Byron, *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers*; Thomas Moore, *Corruption*.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

ἥγοντο καὶ μαίνεσθαι ἔφασκον· ὅστερον δὲ πειρώμενα ἐθαύμαζε καὶ τῷ ὄντι σοφωτάτην ἐνόμιζεν. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο, ἐπὰν φανῆ, πρόσεισιν ὡς πρὸς ἄπαντα ἐπισταμένην· ἡ δὲ συμβουλεύει μὲν αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν ἔτι, ὁδύρεται δὲ μόνον.

9 "Ισως οὖν παρειλήφατε ύμεῖς λόγον τινὰ ἀληθῆ καὶ ξυμβουλὴν συμφέρουσαν, ἥντινα ξυνεβούλευσε Φιλοσοφία τοῖς πρότερον "Ελλησιν, ἣν οἱ τότε μὲν ἡγνόησαν καὶ ἡτύμασαν, οἱ δὲ νῦν ὑπομιμήσκονται καὶ μοι προσίστι διὰ τὸ σχῆμα, Φιλοσοφίαν τιμῶντες ὥσπερ τὴν γλαῦκα ἄφωνον τό γε ἀληθὲς καὶ ἀπαρρησίαστον οὖσαν. ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν αὐτῷ ξύνοιδα οὔτε πρότερον εἰπόντι σπουδῆς ἄξιον οὔτε νῦν ἐπισταμένῳ
 10 πλέον ύμῶν· ἀλλὰ εἰσὶν ἔτεροι σοφοὶ καὶ μακάριοι παντελῶς ἄνδρες, οὓς ύμῶν ἐγώ, εἰ βούλεσθε, μηνύσω, ἕκαστον ὄνομαστὶ δεικνύμενος. καὶ γὰρ τὴ Δία τοῦτο μόνον οἷμαι χρήσιμον ἔχειν, τὸ γιγνώσκειν τοὺς σοφούς τε καὶ δεινοὺς καὶ πάντα ἐπισταμένους· οὓς ἐὰν ύμεῖς ἐθέλητε ξυνεῖναι τάλλα ἔάσαντες, καὶ γονεῖς καὶ πατρίδας καὶ θεῶν ἱερά καὶ προγόνων τάφους, ἐκείνους ξυνακολουθοῦντες ἐνθα ἀν ἄγωσιν¹ ἢ καὶ μένοντές που καθιδρυθώσιν, εἴτε εἰς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα τὴν Νίνου καὶ Σεμιράμιδος εἴτε ἐν Βάκτροις ἢ Σούσοις

¹ ἄγωσιν Emperoris : ἀπωσιν οι ἀπῶσιν.

¹ His philosopher's garb, long hair and beard, etc.

² A reference to certain琐菲士.

³ Nineveh, and not Babylon, was founded by Ninus and Semiramis, but perhaps the text is corrupt here.

THE TWELFTH, OR OLYMPIC, DISCOURSE

They considered her foolish, and said she was mad; but afterwards through experience they came to admire her and to consider her in very truth exceedingly wise. And that is the reason why, whenever she shows herself, they draw near to her as to one possessing all knowledge; but as for her, she no longer gives them advice, but merely laments.

So perhaps there has been delivered unto you some true word and salutary counsel, which Philosophy gave to the Greeks of old, but the men of that time comprehended it not and despised it; whereas those of the present day, recalling it, draw near to me on account of my appearance,¹ thus honouring Philosophy as the birds honour the owl, although it is in reality voiceless and reticent of speech. For I am quite well aware that I have not hitherto said anything worthy of consideration, and that now I have no knowledge superior to your own. But there are other men who are wise and altogether blessed; and if you wish, I shall make them known to you, mentioning each one by name.² For indeed this alone I consider to be profitable—to know the men who are wise and able and omniscient. To such if you are willing to cleave, neglecting all other things—both parents and the land of your birth, the shrines of the gods, and the tombs of your forefathers—following wherever they lead, or remaining wherever they establish themselves—whether in the Babylon³ of Ninus and Semiramis, or in Bactra,⁴ or Sousa,⁵

⁴ The chief city of Bactria, which corresponds to the modern Turkestan.

⁵ The capital of Ancient Persia; marked now by the so-called tomb of Daniel. See also vol. I, p. 251.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

ἢ Παλιβόθροις¹ ἢ ἄλλῃ τινὶ πόλει τῶν ἐνδόξων
καὶ πλουσίων, χρήματα διδόντες ἢ καὶ ἄλλῳ τρόπῳ
 11 πείθοντες, εὐδαιμονέστεροι ἔσεσθε² αὐτῆς τῆς
εὐδαιμονίας· εἰ δὲ αὐτοὶ μὴ βούλεσθε, καταμεμ-
φόμενοι τὴν αὐτῶν φύσιν ἢ πεινάν ηγῆρας ἢ
ἀσθένειαν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς γε νίσσι μὴ φθονοῦντες μηδὲ
ἄφαιρούμενοι τῶν μεγίστων ἀγαθῶν, ἔκοῦσί τε
ἐπιτρέποντες καὶ ἄκοντας πείθοντες ἢ βιαζόμενοι
πάντα τρόπον, ὡς ἀν παιδευθέντες ἵκανῶς καὶ
γενόμενοι σοφοὶ παρὰ πᾶσιν Ἐλλησι καὶ βαρ-
βάροις ὄνομαστοὶ ὥσι τὸ λοιπόν, διαφέροντες
ἀρετῇ καὶ δόξῃ καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ δυνάμει τῇ πάσῃ
σχεδόν. οὐ γὰρ μόνον πλούτῳ, φισίν, ἀρετῇ³
καὶ κῦδος ὀπῆδει, ἀλλὰ καὶ πλούτος⁴ ἀρετῇ
συνέπεται ἔξι ἀνάγκης.

12 Ταῦτα δὲ ὑμῖν ἐναντίον τοῦδε τοῦ θεοῦ προλέγω
καὶ ἔνυμβουλεύω δι' εὔνοιαν καὶ φιλίαν προαγόμενος.
οἶμαι δὲ ἔμαυτὸν ἀν εἶναι⁵ πρῶτον πείθειν καὶ παρα-
καλέν εἴ μοι τὰ τοῦ σώματος καὶ τὰ τῆς ἡλικίας
ἐπεδέχετο· ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἀνάγκη διὰ τὸ κακοπαθεῖν, εἴ

¹ Παλιβόθροις Geel: παλιμβάθροις or παλιμβάκτροις.

² ἔσεσθε Morel: ἔσεσθαι. ³ ἀρετὴ Sonny: ἀρετὴν.

⁴ πλούτος Arnim: λόγος.

⁵ ἀν added by Emperor, εἶναι by Capps.

¹ Palibothrīs: Παλιβόθροις, famous city of Ancient India and capital of Megasthenes at the confluence of the Erannoboas and the Ganges. It was the residence of Megasthenes during his stay in India about 305 B.C. He wrote a work called Tā "Indika."

² Hesiod (*Works and Days*, 313) says πλούτῳ δ' ἀρετῇ καὶ κῦδος ὀπῆδει—“virtue and fame attend wealth.” Compare Homer (*Iliad*, 17. 251): ἐκ δὲ Διὸς τιμὰ καὶ κῦδος ὀπῆδει.—“from Zeus honour and fame attend,” and the Gospel according to Matthew (6. 33) ζητεῖτε δὲ πρῶτον τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ τὴν δικαιοσύνην αὐτοῦ, καὶ ταῦτα πάντα προστεθῆσεται ὑμῖν.

THE TWELFTH, OR OLYMPIC, DISCOURSE

or Palibothra,¹ or in some other famous and wealthy city—giving them money or in some other way winning their favour, you will become happier than happiness itself. But if you are not willing to do this yourselves, mistrusting your own natural ability, or pleading poverty or age or lack of physical strength, you will at least not begrudge your sons this boon nor deprive them of the greatest blessings, but will entrust them to these teachers if they are willing to receive them; and if they are unwilling, you will persuade them or compel them by any and all means, to the end that your sons, having been properly educated and having grown wise, may thenceforth be renowned among all Greeks and barbarians, being pre-eminent in virtue and reputation and wealth and in almost every kind of power. For not only do virtue and renown attend upon wealth, as we are told, but wealth likewise and of necessity accompanies virtue.²

This is the prophecy and counsel that I give you in the presence of yonder god,³ moved by a spirit of goodwill and friendship toward you. And I suppose that it would be my duty to urge and exhort myself first of all, if only the state of my health and my advanced age permitted, but the fact is that, on account of the infirmities which afflict me,⁴ I am under the necessity, if perchance I shall find it in any way

¹ This reference is to the statue of Zeus at Olympia. The statue, about forty feet high if the base was included, represented Zeus seated in the front chamber of the temple facing the entrance and with his back to the wall. It was visible only at such festivals as this. At other times it was concealed by a magnificent curtain.

² A reference to Dio's ill health caused by the hardships of exile. He refers to it also in §§ 15 and 19.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

πού τι δυνησόμεθα, εύρεσθαι παρὰ τῶν παλαιῶν ἀνδρῶν ὥσπερ ἀπερριμμένου ηδη καὶ ἔωλον¹ σοφίας λείψανον χήτει² τῶν κρειττόνων τε καὶ ζώντων διδασκάλων.

³Ἐρῶ δὲ ὑμῖν καὶ ἄλλο δὲ πέπονθα τῇ γλαυκὶ παραπλήσιον, ἐὰν καὶ βούλησθε καταγελᾶν τῶν λόγων. ὥσπερ γάρ ἐκείνη αὐτὴ μὲν οὐδὲν χρῆται τοῖς προσπετομένοις, ἀνδρὶ δὲ ὀρυζιοθήρᾳ πάντων λυσιτελέστατον κτημάτων· οὐδὲν γάρ δεῖ οὕτε τροφὴν προβάλλειν³ οὕτε φωνὴν μιμεῖσθαι, μόνον δὲ ἐπιδεικνύντα τὴν γλαῦκα πολὺ πλῆθος ἔχειν ὁρέων· οὕτω κάμοι τῆς σπουδῆς τῶν πολλῶν οὐδὲν ὅφελος. οὐ γάρ λαμβάνω μαθητάς, εἰδὼς ὅτι οὐδὲν ἀν⁴ ἔχοιμι διδάσκειν, ἀτε οὐδὲν αὐτὸς ἐπιστάμενος· ὡς δὲ⁵ οὐδείς ψεύδεσθαι καὶ ἔξαπατᾶν ὑπισχνούμενος, οὐκ ἔχω ταύτην τὴν ἀνδρείαν· σοφιστῇ δὲ ἀνδρὶ ξυνῶν μεγάλα ἀν ὠφέλουν ὅχλον πολὺν ἀπογειώνοντες αὐτόν, ἐπειτα ἐκείνῳ παρέχων ἀπογειώνοντες διαθέσθαι τὴν ἄγραν. ἀλλ' οὐκ οἶδα ὅπως, οὐδεὶς με ἀναλαμβάνει τῶν σοφιστῶν οὐδὲ ηδονται ὄρωντες.

¹⁴ Σχεδὸν μὲν οὖν ἐπίσταμαι ὅτι πιστεύετέ μοι λέγοντι ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀπειρίας τε κάνεπιστημοσύνης τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ, δῆλον ὡς διὰ τὴν αὐτῶν ἐπιστήμην καὶ φρόνησιν, καὶ τοῦτο οὐκ ἔμοι μόνον, ἀλλὰ

¹ ἔωλον Reiske: βῶλον. ² χήτει Reiske: δή τι.

³ προβάλλειν Morel: προσβάλλειν.

⁴ οὐδὲν ἀν Jacobs: οὐδένα. ⁵ ὡς δὲ Pflugk: ὥστε.

¹ See Themistius (20 a): "He does not permit the ancient views to wither"—μαραίνεσθαι οὐκ ἔτε τὰς ἀρχὰς δόξας, and

THE TWELFTH, OR OLYMPIC, DISCOURSE

possible, of discovering some bit of wisdom which has already been from the ancients cast aside as it were, and had grown stale¹ for lack of teachers who are both better and still living.

And I shall tell you of another respect too in which I am like the owl, even if you are ready to laugh at my words. For just as that bird makes no use herself of the others that fly to her side, but to the fowler is the most useful of all possessions—since he has no need to throw out feed or mimic a call, but merely to show the owl and then have a great multitude of birds—so I too have nothing to gain by the interest of the many. For I do not take disciples, since I know there is nothing I should be able to teach them, seeing that I know nothing myself;² but to lie and deceive by my promises, I have not the courage³ for that. But if I associated myself with a professional sophist, I should help him greatly by gathering a great crowd to him and then allowing him to dispose of the catch as he wished. However, for some reason or other, not one of the sophists is willing to take me on, nor can they bear the sight of me.

Now I am almost sure that you believe me when I speak of my own inexperience and lack of knowledge—evidently on account of your knowledge and sagacity—and it seems to me that you not only believe me on this point, but would have believed

in the same author (205 b): “For the examples from Homer I pass over as stale and excessively ancient.” — τὰ γὰρ ἐξ Ὁμύρου παραδείγματα ὡς ἔωλα παραιτοῦμαι καὶ λίαν ἀρχαῖα.

² Socrates made this claim. See Plato (*Apology* 20 c, 23 b); cf. § 14 *infra*.

³ In Discourse 11. 23 also Dio speaks of boldness being required for lying.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

καὶ Σωκράτει δοκεῖτέ μοι πιστεύειν ἄν, ταῦτὰ
νπέρ αὐτοῦ προβαλλομένῳ πρὸς ἄπαντας ὡς
οὐδὲν ἥδει· τὸν δὲ Ἰππίαν καὶ τὸν Πῶλον καὶ
τὸν Γοργίαν, ὃν ἔκαστος αὐτὸν μάλιστα ἔθαύμαζε
καὶ ἔξεπλήττετο, σοφοὺς ἄν ἥγεισθαι καὶ μακαρίους.

15 ὅμως δὲ προλέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι ἐσπουδάκατε ἀνδρὸς
ἀκοῦσαι τοσοῦτον πλῆθος ὄντες οὕτε καλοῦ τὸ
ἔδος οὕτε ἴσχυροῦ, τῇ τε ἡλικίᾳ παρηκμακότος
ἥδη, μαθητὴν δὲ οὐδένα ἔχοντος, τέχνην δὲ ἥ
ἐπιστήμην οὐδεμίαν ὑποσχινούμενου σχεδὸν οὕτε
τῶν σεμιῶν οὕτε τῶν ἐλαπτόνων, οὕτε μαντικὴν
οὕτε σοφιστικὴν, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ ρήτορικὴν τινὰ ἥ κολα-
κευτικὴν δύναμιν, οὐδὲ δεινοῦ ἔνγγράφειν, οὐδὲ
ἔργον τι ἔχοντος ἀξιον ἐπαίνου καὶ σπουδῆς, ἀλλ’
ἥ μόνον κομῶντος.

Εἰ δ’ ὑμῖν δοκέει τόδε λωίτερον καὶ ἄμεινον,

16 δραστέον τοῦτο καὶ πειρατέον ὅπως ἄν ἥ δυνατὸν
ἥμιν. οὐ μέντοι λόγων ἀκούσεσθε ὅποιων ἄλλου
τινὸς τῶν νῦν, ἀλλὰ πολὺ φαυλοτέρων καὶ ἀκοπω-
τέρων,¹ ὅποίους δὴ καὶ ὅράτε. χρὴ δὲ ἐᾶν ὑμᾶς
ἔμβραχυ,² ὃ τι ἄν ἐπίη μοι, τούτῳ ἔπεσθαι, καὶ

¹ ἀκοπωτέρων Cohoon : ἀτοπωτέρων.

² ἔμβραχυ Geel : ἐν βραχεῖ.

¹ Sophist contemporary with Socrates. Had a powerful memory, great vanity, and considerable vanity.

² Sophist.

³ From Leontini in east of Sicily. Born about 480 B.C. and lived more than 100 years. Celebrated rhetorician and sophist.

⁴ Dio divides the arts and professions into two broad divisions, the nobler and the meaner. To the nobler division

THE TWELFTH, OR OLYMPIC, DISCOURSE

Socrates also, when he continually and to all men advanced on his own behalf the same defence—that he knew nothing; but that Hippias¹ and Polus² and Gorgias,³ each of whom was more struck with admiration of himself than of anyone else, you would have considered wise and blessed. But notwithstanding, I declare to you that, great as is your number, you have been eager to hear a man who is neither handsome in appearance nor strong, and in age is already past his prime, one who has no disciple, who professes, I may almost say, no art or special knowledge either of the nobler or of the meaner sort, no ability either as a prophet or a sophist, nay, not even as an orator or as a flatterer, one who is not even a clever writer, who does not even have a craft deserving of praise or of interest, but who simply—wears his hair long!⁴

But if you think it a better and wiser course,⁵ I must do this and try to the best of my ability. However, you will not hear words such as you would hear from any other man of the present day, but words much less pretentious and wearisome, in fact just such as you now observe. And in brief, you must allow me to pursue any thought that occurs to me and not become annoyed if you find me wander-

would belong philosophy, oratory, writing in verse or prose, sculpture, and painting; to the meaner, the trades and crafts among others. The prophet and the sophist, the orator and the flatterer, belong to the nobler and to the meaner divisions respectively.

Long hair was the badge of the philosopher, as Dio himself says in Discourse 35. 2 in no very respectful tone. In Discourse 72. 2 he refers to the derision caused by long hair.

¹ Homer, *Odyssey* 1. 376; 2. 141,

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

μὴ ἀγανακτεῖν ἐὰν φαίνωμαι πλανώμενος ἐν τοῖς λόγοις, ὡσπερ ἀμέλει καὶ τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον ἔζηκα¹ ἀλώμενος, ἀλλὰ συγγνώμην ἔχειν, ἀτε ἀκούοντας ἀνδρὸς ἴδιώτου καὶ ἀδολέσχου.

Καὶ γὰρ δὴ τυγχάνω μακράν τινα ὅδὸν τὰ νῦν πεπορευμένος, εὐθὺν τοῦ "Ιστρου καὶ τῆς Γετῶν χώρας ἢ Μυσῶν, ὡς φησιν "Ομιλρος κατὰ τὴν

17 νῦν ἐπίκλησιν τοῦ ἔθνους. ἥλθον δὲ οὐ χρημάτων ἔμπορος οὐδὲ τῶν πρὸς ὑπηρεσίαν τοῦ στρατοπέδου σκευοφόρων ἢ βοηλατῶν, οὐδὲ πρειτείαν ἐπρέσβευον συμμαχικήν ἢ τινα εὐφημιον, τῶν ἀπὸ γλώττης μόνον συνευχομένων,²

γυμνὸς ἀτερ κόρυθός τε καὶ ἀσπίδος, οὐδὲ ἔχον ἔγχος,

18 οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἄλλο ὅπλον οὐθέν. ὡστε ἔθαύμαζον ὅπως με ἡνείχοντο ὁρῶντες. οὔτε γὰρ³ ἵππεύειν ἐπιστάμενος οὔτε τοξότης ἵκανὸς ἢν οὕθ' ὅπλίτης, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τῶν κούφων καὶ ἀνόπλων τὴν βαρεῖαν

¹ ἔζηκα Reiske : ἔζηκα.

² After συνευχομένων the MSS. have the following words, which Valesius bracketed: ἄλλο δὲ οὐδὲν χρὴ πολυτραγμονεῖν οὐδὲ ἀκούειν οὐδενὸς ἀλλ' ἢ μόνον σάλπιγγος ἱερᾶς καὶ τῶν μακαρίων κηρυγμάτων, ὡς ὅδε μὲν νικᾷ πάλην παιδῶν, ὅδε δὲ ἀνδρῶν, ὅδε δὲ πυγμῆν, ὅδε δὲ παγκράτιον, ὅδε δὲ πένταθλον, ὅδε δὲ στάδιον, ἐνī βήματι σχεδὸν εὐδαίμων γενόμενος, αὐτὸν* τε καὶ τὴν πατρίδα καὶ τὸ σύμπαν ἀποφήνας γένος ἀοιδιμον—“There is need to be concerned for naught else and to hear naught else except the sacred trumpet alone and the joyous proclamations that this contestant has won the wrestling match for boys, and that other the one for men, that this man has won the pancratium, that man the pentathlon, and that third man the footrace—at one bound, you might almost say, having become happy by making himself, his native city, and his whole race renowned.” See § 25.

³ γὰρ added by Wilamowitz.

* αὐτὸν Capps: αὐτός.

THE TWELFTH, OR OLYMPIC, DISCOURSE

ing in my remarks exactly as in the past I have lived a life of roving, but you must grant me your indulgence, bearing in mind that you are listening to a man who is a layman and who is fond of talking.¹

For in fact, as it happens, I have just finished a long, long journey, all the way from the Ister² and the land of the Getae, or Mysians³ as Homer, using the modern designation of the race, calls them. And I went there, not as a merchant with his wares, nor yet as one of the supply-train of the army in the capacity of baggage-carrier or cattle-driver, nor was I discharging a mission as ambassador to our allies or on some embassy bearing congratulations, the members of which join in prayers with the lips only. I went

Unarmed, with neither helm nor shield nor lance,⁴

nor indeed with any other weapon either, so that I marvelled that they brooked the sight of me. For I, who could not ride a horse and was not a skilled Bowman or man-at-arms, nor yet a javelin-thrower, or slinger, belonging to the light-armed

¹ See also Discourse 7. 1.

² The Danube.

³ The Getae, a Thracian people, were called Daci by the Romans. The Mysi, to whom Homer refers, were also a Thracian people who crossed over from Europe to Asia at a very early period. Dio identifies the Mysi with the Moesi, who lived south of the Danube, and these Moesi with the Getae, or Dacians, who lived north of the river.

Dio wrote a historical work *τὰ Γετικά*, now lost.

⁴ Homer, *Iliad* 21. 50.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

ὅπλισιν στρατιωτῶν οὐδ' ἀκοντιστὴς ἢ λιθοβόλος,
 οὐδ' αὖ τεμένη ὅλην ἢ τάφρον ὄρύττειν δυνατὸς
 οὐδὲ ἀμῆσαι χιλὸν ἐκ πολεμίου λειμῶνος πυκνὰ
 μεταστρεφόμενος, οὐδὲ ἐγεῖραι σκηνὴν ἢ χάρακα,
 ὥσπερ ἀμέλει ξυνέπονται τοῖς στρατοπέδοις ἀπόλε-
 19 μοί¹ τινες ὑπηρέται—πρὸς ἄπαντα δὴ ταῦτα
 ἀμηχάνως ἔχων ἀφικόμην εἰς ἄνδρας οὐ νωθροὺς
 οὐδὲ σχολὴν ἄγοντας ἀκροᾶσθαι λόγων, ἀλλὰ
 μετεώρους² καὶ ἀγωνιῶντας καθάπερ ἵππους
 ἀγωνιστὰς ἐπὶ τῷ τετραλόγῳ, οὐκ ἀνεχομένους
 τὸν χρόνον, ὑπὸ τοῦτον τοῦτον προθυμίας κόπτον-
 τας τὸ ἔδαφος ταῖς ὅπλαις· ἔνθα γε ἦν ὅρāν
 πανταχοῦ μὲν ἕιφη, πανταχοῦ δὲ θώρακις, παντα-
 χοῦ δὲ δόρατα, πάντα δὲ ἵππων, πάντα δὲ ὅπλων,
 πάντα δὲ ὠπλισμένων ἀνδρῶν μεστά. μόνος
 δὴ ἐν τοσούτοις φαινόμενος ῥάβδυμος ἀτεχνῶς
 20 σφόδρα τε εἰρηνικὸς πολέμου θεατής, τὸ μὲν
 σῶμα ἐνδεής, τὴν δὲ ἡλικίαν προήκων, οὐ χρυσοῦν
 σκῆπτρον φέρων οὐδὲ στέμματα ἱερὰ θεοῦ τινος
 ἐπὶ λύσει θυγατρὸς ἥκων εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀναγ-
 καίαν ὁδόν, ἀλλ' ἐπιθυμῶν ἵδεν ἄνδρας ἀγωνιζο-
 μένους ὑπὲρ ἀρχῆς καὶ δυνάμεως, τοὺς δὲ ὑπὲρ
 ἐλευθερίας τε καὶ πατρίδος· ἔπειτα οὐ τὸν κίν-
 δυνον ἀποκνήσας, μὴ τοῦτο ἡγησάσθω μηδείς,
 ἀλλ' εὐχῆς τινος μνησθεὶς παλαιᾶς δεῦρο ἀπετράπην
 πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἀεὶ τὰ θεῖα κρείττω καὶ προυργιαίτερα
 νομίζων τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων, ἡλίκα ἀν ἦ.

¹ ἀπόλεμοί ορ οὐ πολεμικοί Rousso: πολεμικοί.

² μετεώρους Jacobs: ὑμετέρους.

¹ This phrase is found in Xenophon, *Anabasis* 6. 1. 8.

THE TWELFTH, OR OLYMPIC, DISCOURSE

troops who carry no heavy armour, nor, again, was able to cut timber or dig a trench, nor to mow fodder from an enemy's meadow 'with many a glance behind,'¹ nor yet to raise a tent or a rampart, just as certain non-combatants do who follow the legions as helpers,² I, who was useless for all such things, came among men who were not dullards, and yet had no leisure to listen to speeches, but were high-strung and tense like race-horses at the starting barriers, fretting at the delay and in their excitement and eagerness pawing the ground with their hoofs. There one could see everywhere swords, everywhere corselets, everywhere spears, and the whole place was crowded with horses, with arms, and with armed men.³ Quite alone I appeared in the midst of this mighty host, perfectly undisturbed and a most peaceful observer of war, weak in body and advanced in years, not bearing 'a golden sceptre' or the sacred fillets of any god⁴ and arriving at the camp on an enforced journey to gain a daughter's release, but desiring to see strong men contending for empire and power, and their opponents for freedom and native land. Then, not because I shrank from the danger—let no one think this—but because I recalled to mind an old vow, I turned my course hither to you, ever considering that things divine have the greater claim and are more profitable than things human, however important these may be.

² ὑπηρέται are servants of the hoplites in Thucydides 3. 17.

³ A reference to Trajan's army preparing to attack the Getae, or Dacians, in the second Dacian War.

⁴ An allusion to *Iliad* 1. 13–15, whose Chryses came to the Greek camp before Troy to ransom his daughter.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

21 Πότερον οὖν ἥδιον ὑμῖν καὶ μᾶλλον ἐν καιρῷ περὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ διηγήσασθαι, τοῦ τε ποταμοῦ τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τῆς χώρας τὴν φύσιν ἡ ὥρῶν ὡς ἔχουσι κράσεως καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων περὶ¹ τοῦ γένους, ἔτι δέ, οἷμαι, τοῦ πλήθους καὶ τῆς παρασκευῆς, ἡ μᾶλλον ἄφασθαι τῆς πρεσβυτέρας τε καὶ μείζονος ἴστορίας περὶ τοῦδε τοῦ θεοῦ, παρ'
 22 φῦ νῦν ἐσμεν; οὗτος γάρ δὴ κοινὸς ἀνθρώπων καὶ θεῶν βασιλεύς τε καὶ ἀρχῶν καὶ πρύτανις καὶ πατήρ, ἔτι δὲ εἰρήνης καὶ πολέμου ταμίας, ὡς τοῖς πρότερον ἐμπείροις καὶ σοφοῖς ποιηταῖς ἔδοξεν,
 ἐάν πως ἵκανοὶ γειώμεθα τὴν τε φύσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ὑμνῆσαι λόγῳ βραχεῖ καὶ ἀποδέοντι τῆς ἀξίας, αὐτά που ταῦτα λέγοντες.²
 23 : "Ἄρ" οὖν κατὰ "Ισίδορον ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν καὶ Μούσαις φίλον ἀρκτέον, ὡς ἐκεῖνος μάλα ἐμφρόνως οὐκ αὐτὸς ἐτόλμησεν ἀρξασθαι³ παρ' αὐτοῦ διανοηθεῖς, ἀλλὰ τὰς Μούσας παρακαλεῖ διηγήσασθαι περὶ τοῦ σφετέρου πατρός; τῷ παντὶ γὰρ μᾶλλον πρέπον τόδε τὸ φῆμα ταῖς θεαῖς ἡ τοὺς ἐπὶ "Ιλιον ἐλθόντας ἀριθμεῖν, αὐτούς τε καὶ τὰ σέλματα τῶν νεῶν ἐφεξῆς, ὃν οἱ πολλοὶ ἀνόητοι ἦσαν· καὶ τίς⁴ ποιητὴς σοφώτερός τε καὶ ἀμείνων ἡ⁴ δὲ παρακαλῶν ἐπὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον ὅδε πως;

¹ περὶ added by Reiske.

² λέγοντες Reiske: λέγοντας.

³ ἀρξασθαι Reiske: εὑξασθαι.

⁴ τίς and ἡ added by Capps, found in some MSS.

THE TWELFTH, OR OLYMPIC, DISCOURSE

Now is it more agreeable and more opportune for you that I should describe what I saw there—the immense size of the river and the character of the country, what climate the inhabitants enjoy and their racial stock, and further, I suppose, the population and their military strength? Or should you prefer that I take up the older and greater tale of this god at whose temple we are now? For he is indeed alike of men and of gods the king and ruler and lord and father, and in addition, the dispenser of peace and of war, as the experienced and wise poets of the past believed¹—to see if perchance we can commemorate both his nature and his power in a brief speech, which will fall short of what it should be even if we confine ourselves to these two themes alone.

Should I, then, begin in the manner of Hesiod, a man good and beloved of the Muses, imitating the way in which he, quite shrewdly, does not venture to begin in his own person and express his own thoughts, but invites the Muses to tell about their own father? For this hymn to the goddesses is altogether more fitting than to enumerate those who went against Ilium, both themselves and the benches of their ships *seriatim*, although the majority of the men were quite unknown. And what poet is wiser and better than he who invokes aid for this work in the following manner?—

¹ In the works of Homer Zeus is often spoken of as Father, e.g. in the *Iliad* 1. 544, 4. 225, but the term *βασιλεύς* is never applied to him or to any other god, but only to men. The term *ἄναξ* (lord or master) is applied to both gods and men. In Hesiod (*Theogony* 886) Zeus is called *θεῶν βασιλεύς*. For Zeus as dispenser of peace and war see, e.g. *Iliad* 22, 210–213. Compare § 78 of this Discourse.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

24 Μοῦσαι Πιερίθεν ἀοιδῆσι κλείουσαι,
δεῦτε Δῖ ἐννέπετε σφέτερον πατέρ' ὑμνείουσαι,
ὄντε διὰ βροτοὶ ἄνδρες ὅμῶς ἄφατοί τε
φατοί τε

ρήτοι τ', ἄρρητοί τε, Διὸς μεγάλοιο ἔκητι·
ῥέα μὲν γὰρ βριάει, ρέα δὲ βριάοντα χαλέπτει,
ῥεῖα δ' ἀρίζηλον μινύθει καὶ ἄδηλον ἀέξει,
ῥεῖα δέ τ' ιθύνει σκολιὸν καὶ ἀγήνωρα κάρφει
Ζεὺς ὑψιβρεμέτης, ὃς ὑπέρτατα δώματα ναίει.

25 ὑπολαβόντες οὖν εἴπατε πότερον ἀρμόζων ὁ λόγος
οὗτος καὶ¹ τὸ ἄσμα τῇ συνόδῳ γένοιτο² ἄν, ὃ
παῦδες Ἡλείων· ὑμεῖς γὰρ ἄρχοντες καὶ ἡγεμόνες
τῆσδε τῆς πανηγύρεως, ἔφοροί τε καὶ ἐπίσκοποι
τῶν ἐνθάδε ἕργων καὶ λόγων·² ηδὲ θεατὰς εἶναι
μόνον τοὺς ἐνθάδε ἥκοντας τῶν τε ἄλλων δῆλον
ὅτι παγκάλων καὶ σφόδρα ἐνδόξων θεαμάτων
καὶ δὴ μάλιστα τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ θρησκείας καὶ τῷ
ὄντι μακαρίας εἰκόνος, ἦν ὑμῶν οἱ πρόγονοι δαπάνης
τε ὑπερβολῆς καὶ τέχνης ἐπιτυχόντες τῆς ἄκρας
εἰργάσαντο καὶ ἀνέθεσαν, πάντων ὅσα ἐστὶν ἐπὶ

¹ καὶ Wilamowitz: η.

² After λόγων Kayser proposed to insert the words found in the MSS. after συνευχομένων in § 17 which are given in a footnote there, Reiske proposed to insert them after ἥκοντας in the next line, and Emperius after "Ολυμπον in § 28.

THE TWELFTH, OR OLYMPIC, DISCOURSE

O ye Pierian Muses, who glorify man by your lays,
Draw nigh me, and sing for me Zeus your father,
and chant his praise.
It is he through whom mortal men are renowned
or unrenowned;
At the pleasure of Zeus most high by fame are
they crowned or discrowned;
For lightly he strengtheneth this one, and
strength unto that one denies;
Lightly abases the haughty, the lowly he
magnifies;
Lightly the crooked he straightens, and withers
the pride of the proud,
Even Zeus who thunders on high, who dwelleth
in mansions of cloud.¹

Answer, therefore and tell me whether the address I offer and the hymn would prove more suitable to this assemblage, you sons of Elis—for you are the rulers and the directors of this national festal gathering, both supervisors and guardians of what is said and done here—or perhaps those who have gathered here should be spectators merely, not only of the sights to be seen, admittedly altogether beautiful and exceedingly renowned, but, very specially, of the worship of the god and of his truly blessed image, which your ancestors by lavish expenditure and by securing the service of the highest art made and set up as a dedication—of all the statues which are upon the earth the most beautiful and the most

¹ Hesiod, *Works and Days* 1-8, translated by A. S. Way.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

γῆς ἀγάλματα, κάλλιστον καὶ θεοφιλέστατον,
πρὸς τὴν Ὄμηρικὴν ποίησιν, ὡς φασι, Φειδίου
παραβαλλομένου, τοῦ διηγαντος ὀλίγῳ νεύματι

26 τῶν ὄφρύων τὸν ξύμπαντα "Ολυμπον, ὡς ἐκεῖνος
μάλιστα ἐναργῶς καὶ πεποιθότως ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν
εἴρηκεν;

ἢ καὶ κυανέησιν ἐπ' ὄφρύσι νεῦσε Κρονίων,
ἀμβρόσιαι δ' ἄρα χαῖται ἐπερρώπιαι το ἄνικτος
κρατὸς ἀπ' ἀθιανάτοιο, μέγαν δ' ἐλέλιξεν
"Ολυμπον.

ἢ καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν τούτων σκεπτέον ἡμῖν ἐπιμελέ-
στερον, τῶν τε ποιημάτων καὶ ἀναθημάτων, καὶ
ἀτεχνῶς, εἴ τι τοιουτότροπόν ἔστι, τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην
περὶ τοῦ δαιμονίου δόξαν ἀμηγέπη πλάττον καὶ
ἀνατυποῦν, ἀτε ἐν φιλοσόφου διατριβῇ τὰ νῦν
οὖσιν;¹

27 Περὶ δὴ² θεῶν τῆς τε καθόλου φύσεως καὶ

¹ οὖσιν added by Reiske; other editors regard the sentence as incomplete.

² δὴ Reiske: δὲ.

¹ Another reference to Pheidias' masterpiece, the statue of Zeus at Olympia. The god was seated upon a throne of cedar wood, every available part of which was adorned with smaller statues. The flesh was represented by ivory, the robe was of beaten gold. In his right hand Zeus held an ivory and gold statue of Victory, in his left hand he held a sceptre which was ornamented with various kinds of metal and surmounted by an eagle.

This statue needed repairs in the second century B.C., when Damophon of Messene was called in for the purpose. In A.D. 475 it was carried off to Constantinople by the Emperor Theodosius I., where it was destroyed in a fire.

THE TWELFTH, OR OLYMPIC, DISCOURSE

dear to the gods,¹ Pheidias having, as we are told, taken his pattern from Homer's poesy, where the god by a slight inclination of his brows shook all Olympus, as the great poet most vividly and convincingly has expressed it in the following verses :

He said, and nodded with his shadowy brows ;
Wav'd on th' immortal head th' ambrosial locks,
And all Olympus trembled at his nod.²

Or, should we somewhat more carefully consider these two topics themselves, I mean the expressions of our poets and the dedications here, and try to ascertain whether there is some sort of influence which in some way actually moulds and gives expression to man's conception of the deity, exactly as if we were in a philosopher's lecture-room at this moment ?

Now concerning the nature of the gods in general,

There are many references in ancient literature to the great admiration the statue aroused. Arrian (*Dissertations of Epictetus*, 1. 6) says that it was considered a calamity to die without having seen it. Quintilian (12. 10. 9) says, "This beautiful statue is even thought to have added something to the accepted religion"—cuius pulchritudo adiecissem aliquid etiam receptae religioni videtur. Compare also §§ 51 and 52 of this Discourse.

² Homer, *Iliad* 528–530, translated by the Earl of Derby. Compare Milton, *Paradise Lost* 3. 135–137 :

Thus while God spake, ambrosial fragrance fill'd
All heaven, and in the blessed spirits elect
Sense of new joy ineffable diffused.

That Pheidias selected the Zeus of Homer as pictured in the *Iliad* is attested by other passages in ancient writers, e.g. Strabo 534 a; Valerius Maximus 3. 7. 4; Plutarch, *Life of Aemilius Paulus* 28. 2. See also this Discourse, §§ 26 and 62.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

μάλιστα τοῦ πάντων ἡγεμόνος πρῶτον μὲν καὶ
 ἐν πρώτοις δόξα καὶ ἐπίνοια κοινὴ τοῦ ξύμπαντος
 ἀνθρωπίνου γένους, ὅμοίως μὲν Ἑλλήνων, ὅμοίως
 δὲ βαρβάρων, ἀναγκαίᾳ καὶ ἔμφυτος ἐν παντὶ τῷ
 λογικῷ, γινομένῃ κατὰ φύσιν ἄνευ θητοῦ διδασ-
 κάλου καὶ μυσταγωγοῦ χωρὶς ἀπάτης, κεχώρηκεν,¹
 ἐδήλου² τε τὴν ξυγγένειαν τὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ πολλὰ
 μαρτύρια τάληθοῦς, οὐκ ἐώντα κατανυστάξαι καὶ
 ἀμελῆσαι τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους καὶ παλαιοτάτους.
 28 ἄτε γὰρ οὐ μακρὰν οὐδὲ ἕξα τοῦ θείου διώκισμένοι
 καθ' αὐτούς, ἀλλὰ ἐν αὐτῷ μέσω πεφυκότες,
 μᾶλλον δὲ συμπεφυκότες ἐκείνῳ καὶ προσεχό-
 μενοι πάντα τρόπου, οὐκ ἐδύναντο μέχρι πλείους
 ἀξύνετοι μένειν, ἄλλως τε σύνεσιν καὶ λόγου
 εἰληφότες παρ'³ αὐτοῦ, ἄτε δὴ περιλαμπόμενοι
 πάντοθεν θείοις καὶ μεγάλοις φάσμασιν οὐρανοῦ τε
 καὶ ἀστρῶν, ἔτι δὲ ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης, νυκτός τε
 καὶ ἡμέρας ἐντυγχάνοντες ποικίλοις καὶ ἀνομοίοις
 εἴδεσιν, ὅψεις τε ἀμηχάνους ὅρῶντες καὶ φωνὰς
 ἀκούοντες παντοδαπὰς ἀνέμων τε καὶ ὑλῆς καὶ
 ποταμῶν καὶ θαλάττης, ἔτι δὲ ζώων ἡμέρων καὶ
 ἀγρίων, αὐτοὶ τε φθόγγον τῇδιστον καὶ σαφέ-
 στατον ἴέντες καὶ ἀγαπῶντες τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης

¹ κεχώρηκεν Sauppe, κατέχε Arnim: καὶ χαρᾶς διὰ UBM.
 χωρεῖ ΡΥ. ² ἐδήλου Capps: διὰ.
³ παρ' Reiske: περὶ.

¹ Here follows an account of the origin of man and of his first conception of God which has stoic and epicurean elements, but some of the ideas find their roots in Plato. See for example, Plato, *Phaedrus* 247 a; *Republic* 2. 376 e.

² This idea of an innate conception of God (see also 39) is also found in Cicero, *Laws* 1. 8. 24. It is believed that both got the idea from Poseidonius, a stoic philosopher born about

THE TWELFTH, OR OLYMPIC, DISCOURSE

and especially that of the ruler of the universe,¹ first and foremost an idea regarding him and a conception of him common to the whole human race, to the Greeks and to the barbarians alike, a conception that is inevitable and innate in every creature endowed with reason,² arising in the course of nature without the aid of human teacher and free from the deceit of any expounding priest, has made its way, and it rendered manifest God's kinship with man and furnished many evidences of the truth, which did not suffer the earliest and most ancient men to doze and grow indifferent to them; for inasmuch as these earlier men were not living dispersed far away from the divine being or beyond his borders apart by themselves, but had grown up in the very centre of things, or rather had grown up in his company and had remained close to him in every way, they could not for any length of time continue to be unintelligent beings, especially since they had received from him intelligence and the capacity for reason, illumined as they were on every side by the divine and magnificent glories of heaven and the stars of sun and, moon, by night and by day encountering varied and dissimilar experiences, seeing wondrous sights and hearing manifold voices of winds and forest and rivers and sea, of animals tame and wild; while they themselves uttered a most pleasing and clear sound, and taking delight in the proud and intelligent

135 B.C. who ... in reference to Cicero. See Hagen, *op. cit.*, p. 4 and H. W. Schubart, *Sostomus und Posidonius. Quellenuntersuchungen zur Theologie des Dio von Prusa.* Tübingen 1905. Compare Xenophon, *Memorabilia Socratis* 4. 419: "Among all men the first custom is to worship the gods"—*παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις πρῶτον νομίζεται θεοὺς σέβειν.*

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

φωνῆς τὸ γαῦρον καὶ ἐπιστῆμον, ἐπιθέμενοι
σύμβολα τοῖς εἰς αἴσθησιν ἀφικνουμένοις, ὡς πᾶν
τὸ νοηθὲν ὄνομάζειν καὶ δηλοῦν, εὔμαρῶς ἀπείρων
 29 πραγμάτων καὶ¹ μνήμας καὶ ἐπινοίας παραλαμβά-
νοντες. πῶς οὖν ἀγνώτες εἶναι ἔμελλον καὶ
μηδεμίαν ἔξειν ὑπόνοιαν τοῦ σπείραντος καὶ
φυτεύσαντος καὶ σώζοντος καὶ τρέφοντος, παν-
ταχόθεν ἐμπιμπλάμενοι τῆς θείας φύσεως διά τε
ὅψεως καὶ ἀκοῆς συμπάσης τε ἀτεχνῶς αἰσθήσεως;
νεμόμενοι μὲν ἐπὶ γῆς, ὁρῶντες δ' ἔξ οὐρανοῦ φῶς,
 30 προπαρασκευάσαντος τοῦ προπάτορος θεοῦ· πρώ-
την μὲν οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ αὐτόχθονες² τὴν γεώδη,
μαλακῆς ἔτι καὶ πίονος τῆς ἥλυος τότε οὕσης,
ῶσπερ ἀπὸ μητρὸς τῆς γῆς λιχμωμένοι, καθάπερ
τὰ φυτὰ νῦν ἔλκουσι τὴν ἔξ αὐτῆς ἴκμάδα, δευτέραν
δὲ οἱ ἥδη προϊόντες³ καρπῶν τε αὐτομάτων
καὶ πόας οὐ σκληρᾶς, ἅμα δρόσῳ γλυκείᾳ καὶ

νάμασι νυμφῶν ποτίμοις,

καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῦ περιέχοντος ἥρτημένοι καὶ τρεφό-
μενοι τῇ διηνεκεῖ τοῦ πνεύματος ἐπιρροῇ, ἀέρα
ὑγρὸν ἔλκοντες, ὥστε⁴ νήπιοι παῖδες, οὕποτε
ἐπιλείποντος γάλακτος ἀεὶ σφισι θηλῆς⁵ ἐγκειμέ-
 31 νης. σχεδὸν γὰρ ἂν⁶ ταῦτην δικαιότερον λέ-

¹ καὶ omitted in M, bracketed by Geel.

² οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ αὐτόχθονες . . . λιχμωμένοι of the MSS.
changed to dative by Wilamowitz who inserts καὶ before
καθάπερ.

³ οἱ . . . προϊόντες Cohoon: τοῖς . . . προιοῦσι.

⁴ ὥσπερ Geel: ὥστε.

⁵ θηλῆς Morel: λήθης.

⁶ ἂν Reiske: οὖν.

THE TWELFTH, OR OLYMPIC, DISCOURSE

quality of the human voice, attached symbols to the objects that reached their senses, so as to be able to name and designate everything perceived, thus easily acquiring memories and concepts of innumerable things. How, then, could they have remained ignorant and conceived no inkling of him who had sowed and planted and was now preserving and nourishing them, when on every side they were filled with the divine nature through both sight and hearing, and in fact through every sense? They dwelt upon the earth, they beheld the light of heaven, they had nourishment in abundance, for god, their ancestor, had lavishly provided and prepared it to their hand. As a first nourishment the first men, being the very children of the soil, had the earthy food—the moist loam at that time being soft and rich—which they licked up from the earth, their mother as it were, even as plants now draw the moisture therefrom. Then the later generation, who were now advancing, had a second nourishment consisting of wild fruits and tender herbs along with sweet dew and

fresh nymph-haunted rills.¹

Furthermore, being in contact with the circumambient air and nourished by the unceasing inflow of their breath, they sucked in moist air² as infants suck in their food, this milk never failing them because the teat was ever at their lips. Indeed, we should almost be justified in calling this the

¹ This phrase, which in Greek falls into the choriambic metre, is apparently quoted from some lyric poet. The phrase *Ἄστριμον νῆμα* occurs in Philostratus, *Epistles* 10.

² According to Theophrastus (*De Sensu*) the breathing of moist air led to stupidity.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

γοιμεν¹ πρώτην τροφὴν τοῖς τε πρότερον καὶ τοῖς
ῦστερον ἀπλῶς.² ἐπειδὰν γὰρ ἐκπέσῃ τῆς γαστρὸς
νωθρὸν ἔτι καὶ ἀδρανὲς τὸ βρέφος, δέχεται μὲν
ἡ γῆ, ἡ τῷ ὅντι μήτηρ, ὁ δὲ ἀτῆρ εἰσπνεύσας τε
καὶ εἰσψυχώσας³ εὐθὺς ἥγειρεν ὑγροτέρᾳ τροφῇ
γάλακτος καὶ φθέγξασθαι παρέσχεν. ταύτην
εἰκότως πρώτην λέγοιτ⁷ ἀν τοῖς γεινωμένοις
 32 η̄ φύσις ἐπισχεῖν θηλήν. ἂ δὴ πάσχοντες,
ἐπινοοῦντες οὐκ ἐδύναντο μὴ θαυμάζειν καὶ
ἀγαπᾶν τὸ δαιμόνιον, πρὸς δὲ αὖ τούτοις αἰσθανό-
μενοι τῶν ὥρῶν, ὅτι τῆς ἡμετέρας ἔνεκα γίγνονται
σωτηρίας πάντα ἀκριβῶς καὶ πεφεισμένως ἐκατέρας
τῆς ὑπερβολῆς, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τόδε ἐξαίρετον ἔχοντες
ἐκ τῶν θεῶν πρὸς τὰ ἄλλα ζῶα, τὸ⁴ λογίζεσθαι τε
 33 καὶ διανοεῖσθαι περὶ αὐτῶν. σχέδον οὖν ὅμοιον
ῶσπερ εἴ τις ἄνδρα, "Ελλῆνα ἢ βάρβαρον, μυεῖσθαι
παραδοίη⁵ εἰς μυστικόν τινα μυχὸν⁶ ὑπερφυῆ
κάλλει καὶ μεγέθει, πολλὰ μὲν ὄρῶντα μυστικὰ
θεάματα, πολλῶν δὲ ἀκούοντα τοιούτων φωνῶν,
σκότους τε καὶ φωτὸς ἐναλλάξ αὐτῷ φαινομένων,
ἄλλων τε μυρίων γυγνομένων, ἔτι δὲ εἴ καθάπερ

¹ λέγοιμεν Reiske : λέγομεν.

² ἀπλῶς Geel : ἀπλῆν.

³ εἰσψυχώσας Capps : εἰσψύξας.

⁴ —τι προτροπὴν ἦν Αὐτὸν.

⁵ παραδοίη (.....) : παραδοὺς.

⁶ μυχὸν Selden : μύθον.

¹ In what follows we have a reference to the Eleusinian Mysteries. On the fifteenth of Boëdromion (nearly our September) those who were to be initiated into the Mysteries assembled to be arranged and instructed under the guidance of experts called mystagogues (leaders of the mystae or novices).

THE TWELFTH, OR OLYMPIC, DISCOURSE

first nourishment for both the earlier and the succeeding generations without distinction. For when the babe, still sluggish and feeble, is cast forth from the womb, the earth, its real mother, receives it, and the air, after breathing into it and quickening it, at once awakens it by a nourishment more liquid than milk and enables it to emit a cry. This might reasonably be called the first teat that nature offered to human beings at the moment of birth. So experiencing all these things and afterwards taking note of them, men could not help admiring and loving the divinity, also because they observed the seasons and saw that it is for our preservation that they come with perfect regularity and avoidance of excess in either direction, and yet further, because they enjoyed this god-given superiority over the other animals of being able to reason and reflect about the gods. So it is very much the same as if anyone were to place a man, a Greek or a barbarian, in some mystic shrine¹ of extraordinary beauty and size to be initiated, where he would see many mystic sights and hear many mystic voices, where light and darkness would appear to him alternately, and a thousand other things would occur; and further, if it should be just as in the rite called enthronement.

Those accepted had to be free from crime and ignominy and be pure in heart and life. On the nineteenth the procession of novices and mystagogues moved off to Eleusis, where secret rites were held for four days in the *τελετήπερ* (initiation hall), a building 170 feet square with two entrances on each of three sides. This is the small building referred to in § 34. Round the walls ran seats capable of seating 3000 people, the small crowd referred to by Dio in the same section. This passage throws some light on the nature of those secret rites, about which very little is known.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

εἰώθασιν ἐν τῷ καλουμένῳ θρονισμῷ καθίσαντες τοὺς μυουμένους οἱ τελοῦντες κύκλῳ περιχορεύειν· ἀρά γε τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον μηδὲν παθεῖν εἰκὸς τῇ ψυχῇ μηδ’ ὑπονοῆσαι τὰ γιγνόμενα, ὡς μετὰ γνώμης καὶ παρασκευῆς πράττεται σοφωτέρας, εἰ καὶ πάνυ τις εἴη τῶν μακρόθεν καὶ ἀνωνύμων βαρβάρων, μηδενὸς ἔξηγητοῦ μηδὲ ἔρμηνέως

34 παρόντος, ἀνθρωπίνῃ ψυχῇν ἔχων; Ἡ τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἀνυστόν, κοινῇ δὲ ἔνυμπαι τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος τὴν ὀλόκληρον καὶ τῷ ὅντι τελείων τελετῇ μυουμένον, οὐκ ἐν οἰκήματι μικρῷ παρασκευασθέντι πρὸς ὑποδοχὴν ὅχλουν βραχέος ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων, ἀλλὰ ἐν τῷδε τῷ κόσμῳ, ποικίλῳ καὶ σοφῷ δημιουργήματι, μυρίων ἐκάστοτε θαυμαστῶν φαινομένων, ἔτι δὲ οὐκ ἀνθρώπων ὄμοίων τοῖς τελούμενοις, ἀλλὰ θεῶν ἀθανάτων θιντοὺς τελούντων, νυκτὶ τε καὶ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ φωτὶ καὶ ἀστροῖς, εἰ θέμις εἰπεῖν, ἀτεχνῶς περιχορεύοντων ἀεί, τούτων ἔνυμπάντων μηδεμίαν αἰσθησιν μηδὲ ὑποψίαν λαβεῖν, μάλιστα δὲ τοῦ κορυφαίου προεστῶτος τῶν ὅλων καὶ κατευθύνοντος τὸν ἅπαντα οὐρανὸν καὶ κόσμον,

¹ θρονισμὸς, so far as I know, occurs only here and in Manetho 4. 104. Manetho was an Egyptian priest, a contemporary of Dio. But in Plato, *Euthydemus* 277 d, we find the synonym θρόνωσις used to refer to a similar rite of the Corybantes. See the following note.

² Just as in the initiation ceremony of the Corybantes. See Plato, *Euthydemus* 277 d: "These two are doing just the same as those in the initiation ceremony of the Corybantes when they make the enthronement about the man whom they are about to initiate. For in that case too there is dancing and jesting, as you know, if you have ever been initiated. And now these two fellows are doing nothing but circle about you and dance as it were in sport, as if intending to initiate

THE TWELFTH, OR OLYMPIC, DISCOURSE

ment,¹ where the inducting priests are wont to seat the novices and then dance round and round them—pray, is it likely that the man in this situation would be no whit moved in his mind and would not suspect that all which was taking place was the result of a more than wise intention and preparation, even if he belonged to the most remote and nameless barbarians and had no guide and interpreter at his side—provided, of course, that he had the mind of a human being? Or rather, is this not impossible? impossible too that the whole human race, which is receiving the complete and truly perfect initiation, not in a little building erected by the Athenians for the reception of a small company, but in this universe, a varied and cunningly wrought creation, in which countless marvels appear at every moment, and where, furthermore, the rites are being performed, not by human beings who are of no higher order than the initiates themselves, but by immortal gods who are initiating mortal men, and night and day both in sunlight and under the stars are—if we may dare to use the term—literally dancing around them forever²—is it possible to suppose, I repeat, that of all these things his senses told him nothing, or that he gained no faintest inkling of them,³ and especially when the leader of the choir was in charge of the whole spectacle and directing the entire heaven and uni-

you after that"—ποιεῖτο δὲ ταῦτὸν ὅπερ οἱ ἐν τῇ τελετῇ τῶν Κορυβάντων, ὅταν τὴν θρόνωσιν ποιῶσιν περὶ τοῦτον ὃν ἂν μέλλωσι τελεῖν· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖ χορεία τίς ἔστι καὶ παιδιά, εἰ ἄρα τετέλεσαν· καὶ νῦν τούτῳ οὐδέν ἄλλο ἡ χορεύετον περὶ σὲ καὶ οἷον ὄρχεῖσθον παῖζοντε, ὡς μετὰ τοῦτο τελοῦντε.

³ With αἰσθησιν Dio refers to the visible gods such as the sun and with ὑποψίᾳ he refers to the supreme and invisible ruler of the universe, as von Arnim remarks.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

οίον σοφοῦ κυβερήτου νεώς ἄρχοντος πάνυ καλῶς
τε καὶ ἀνενδεῶς παρεσκευασμένης;

35 Οὐ γάρ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸ τοιοῦτον γιγνόμενον θαυμάσαι τις ἄν, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον ὅπως καὶ μέχρι τῶν θηρίων δικυνεῖται τῶν ἀφρόνων καὶ ἀλόγων, ὡς καὶ ταῦτα γιγνώσκειν καὶ τιμᾶν τὸν θεόν καὶ προθυμεῖσθαι ζῆν κατὰ τὸν ἔκείνου θεσμόν· ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον ἀπεοικότως τὰ φυτά, οὓς μηδεμίᾳ μηδενὸς ἔννοια, ἀλλὰ ἄψυχα καὶ ἄφωνα ἀπλῆ τινι φύσει διοικούμενα, ὡς δὴ καὶ ταῦτα ἔκουσίως καὶ βουλόμενα καρπὸν ἐκφέρει τὸν προσήκοντα ἑκάστῳ· οὕτω πάνυ ἐναργῆς καὶ πρόδηλος ἡ τοῦδε τοῦ θεοῦ γνώμη καὶ δύναμις.

36 ἀλλ' ἦποι σφόδρα γελοῖοι καὶ ἀρχαῖοι δόξομεν ἐπὶ τοῦσδε¹ τοῖς λόγοις, ἐγγυτέρω φάσκοντες εἶναι τὴν τοιαύτην ξύνεσιν τοῖς θηρίοις καὶ τοῖς δένδροις ἥπερ ἥμնη τὴν ἀπειρίαν τε καὶ ἄγνοιαν; ὅπότε ἀνθρωποί τινες σοφώτεροι γενόμενοι τῆς ἀπάσης σοφίας, οὐ κηρὸν ἐγχέαντες τοῖς ὡσιν, ὕσπερ, οἷμαί, φασὶ τοὺς Ἰθακησίους ναύτας ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ κατακοῦσαι τῆς τῶν Σειρήνων ὁδῆς, ἀλλὰ μολύβδου τινὸς μαλθακὴν δόμον καὶ ἄτρωτον ὑπὸ φωνῆς φύσιν, ἔτι δέ, οἷμαί, πρὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν σκότος πολὺ προβαλόμενοι καὶ ἀχλύν, ὑφ' ἧς "Ομηρός φησι κωλύεσθαι τὸν καταληφθέντα διαγιγνώσκειν θεόν, ὑπερφρονοῦσι τὰ θεῖα, καὶ μίαν ἴδρυσάμενοι δαίμονα ποιηρὰν καὶ ἄτοπον,² τρυ-

¹ τοῦσδε added by Capps.

² ἄτοπον or ἀλογον Hertlein, ἀλιτήριον Unger : ἄλυπον.

¹ The Epicureans are meant. For a similar expression see § 11.

THE TWELFTH, OR OLYMPIC, DISCOURSE

verse, even as a skilful pilot commands a ship that has been perfectly furnished and lacks nothing?

That human beings should be so effected would occasion no surprise, but much rather that, as we see, this influence reaches even the senseless and irrational brutes, so that even they recognize and honour the god and desire to live according to his ordinance; and it is still stranger that the plants, which have no conception of anything, but, being soulless and voiceless, are controlled by a simple kind of nature—it is passing strange, I say, that even these voluntarily and willingly yield each its own proper fruit; so very clear and evident is the will and power of yonder god. Nay, I wonder if we shall be thought exceedingly absurd and hopelessly behind the times in view of this reasoning, if we maintain that this unexpected knowledge is indeed more natural for the beasts and the trees than dullness and ignorance are for us? Why, certain men have shown themselves wiser than all wisdom;¹ yes, they have poured into their ears, not wax, as I believe they say that the sailors from Ithaca did that they might not hear the song of the Sirens,² but a substance like lead, soft at once and impenetrable by the human voice, and they also methinks have hung before their eyes a curtain of deep darkness and mist like that which, according to Homer, kept the god from being recognized when he was caught;³ these men, then, despise all things divine, and having set up the image of one single female divinity, depraved and monstrous,

¹ Homer, *Odyssey* 12. 173.

² Zeus with Hera: see Homer, *Iliad* 14. 342 and Discourse 11. 21.

DIO CHrysostom

φήν τινα ἥ ράθυμίαν πολλὴν καὶ ἀνειμένην ὕβριν,
‘Ηδονὴν ἐποιομάζουτες, γυναικείαν τῷ διντὶ θεόν,
προτιμῶσι καὶ θεραπεύουσι κυμβάλους τισὶν ὑπο-
ψιφοῦσι¹ καὶ αὐλοῖς ὑπὸ σκότος αὐλουμένοις, ἃς

37 εὐωχίας οὐδεὶς ἔκείνοις φθύνος, εἰ μέχρι τοῦ
ἄδειν αὐτοῖς τὸ σοφὸν ἦν, ἀλλὰ μὴ τοὺς θερὺς
ἡμῶν ἀφηροῦντο καὶ ἀπώκιζον, ἔξελαιύνοντες ἐκ
τῆς αὐτῶν πόλεώς τε καὶ ἀρχῆς, ἐκ τοῦδε τοῦ
κόσμου παντός, εἴς τινας χώρας ἀτύπους, καθάπερ
ἀνθρώπους δυστυχεῖς εἴς τινας νήσους ἐρήμους.
τάδε δὲ τὰ ἔνυμπαντα φάσκοντες ἀγνώμονα καὶ
ἄφρονα καὶ ἀδέσποτα καὶ μηδένα ἔχοντα ἀρχοντα
μηδὲ ταμίαν μηδὲ ἐπιστάτην πλινθοῦσι εἰκῇ καὶ
φέρεσθαι, μηδενὸς μήτε νῦν προνοοῦντος μήτε
πρότερον ἐργασαμένου τὸ πᾶν, μηδὲ ἂσπερ οἱ
παιδεῖς τοὺς τροχοὺς αὐτοὶ κινήσαντες εἴτα
ἔωσιν ἀφ' αὐτῶν φέρεσθαι.

38 Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπεξῆλθεν ὁ λόγος καθ' αὐτὸν
ἐκβάσ· τυχὸν γὰρ οὐ ράδιον τὸν τοῦ φιλοσόφου
νοῦν καὶ λόγουν ἐπισχεῖν, ἔνθα ἀν δρμήσῃ, τοῦ
ξυναντῶντος ἀεὶ φαινομένου ἔνυμφέροντος καὶ
ἀναγκαίου τοῖς ἀκροωμένοις, οὐ μελετηθέντα πρὸς
ὕδωρ καὶ δικανικὴν ἀνάγκην, ὥσπερ οὖν ἔφη τις,

¹ ὑποψιφοῦσι Capps, ἐπιψόφοις Reiske, πολυψόφοις Her-
worden: ἥ ψόφοις or ἀψόφοις.

¹ Dio refers to the soft tinkling of the sistrum in the worship
of Isis.

THE TWELFTH, OR OLYMPIC, DISCOURSE

representing a kind of wantonness or self-indulgent ease and unrestrained lewdness, to which they gave the name of Pleasure—an effeminate god in very truth—her they prefer in honour and worship with softly tinkling cymbal-like instruments, or with pipes played under cover of darkness¹—a form of entertainment which nobody would grudge such men if their cleverness went only as far as singing, and they did not attempt to take our gods from us and send them into banishment, driving them out of their own state and kingdom, clean out of this ordered universe to alien regions, even as unfortunate human beings are banished to sundry uninhabited isles; and all this universe above us they assert is without purpose or intelligence or master, has no ruler or even steward or overseer, but wanders at random and is swept aimlessly along,² no master being there to take thought for it now, and no creator having made it in the first place, or even doing as the boys do with their hoops, which they set in motion of their own accord, and then let them roll along of themselves.

Now to explain this digression—my argument is responsible, having turned aside of itself; for perhaps it is not easy to check the course of a philosopher's thoughts and speech, no matter what direction they may take; for whatever suggests itself to his mind always seems profitable, nay indispensable, for his audience, and my speech has not been prepared to “suit the water-clock and the constraint of court procedure,” to use somebody's

² This was the teaching of Epicurus. Compare Hippocrates 343. 20 : “to wander senseless,” ἀγνώμονα πλανᾶσθαι.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

ἀλλὰ μετὰ πολλῆς ἔξουσίας καὶ ἀδείας. οὐκοῦν τό γε ἀναδραμέν οὐ χαλεπόν, ὥσπερ ἐν πλῷ τοῖς ἰκανοῖς κυβερνήταις οὐ πολὺ παραλλάξασι.

39 Τῆς γὰρ περὶ τὸ θεῖον δόξης καὶ ὑπολήψεως πρώτην μὲν ἀτεχνῶς πηγὴν ἐλέγομεν τὴν ἔμφυτον ἄπασιν ἀνθρώποις ἐπίνοιαν, ἐξ αὐτῶν γιγνομένην τῶν ἔργων καὶ τάληθοῦς, οὐ κατὰ πλάνην συστᾶσαν οὐδὲ ὡς ἔτυχεν, ἀλλὰ πάνυ ἴσχυρὰν καὶ ἀέναον ἐκ τοῦ παντὸς χρόνου καὶ παρὰ πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθινεσιν ἀρξαμένην καὶ διαμένουσαν, σχεδόν τι κοινὴν καὶ δημοσίαν τοῦ λογικοῦ γένους.

Δευτέραν δὲ λέγομεν τὴν¹ ἐπίκτητον καὶ δὴ οὐκ ἔτέρως² ἐγγιγνομένην ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἢ³ λόγοις τε καὶ μύθοις καὶ ἔθεσι, τοῖς μὲν ἀδεσπότοις τε καὶ ἀγράφοις, τοῖς δὲ ἐγγράφοις καὶ σφόδρα γνωρίμους ἔχουσι τοὺς κυρίους. τῆς δὲ τοιαύτης ὑπολήψεως τὴν μὲν τινα ἔκουσίαν καὶ παραμυθητικὴν φῶμεν, τὴν δὲ ἀναγκαίαν καὶ προστακτικήν.

¹ λέγομεν τὴν Reisko: λεγομένην.

² δὴ οὐκ ἔτέρως Capps, δὲ ἔτέρων Reisko: δι' οὐδετέρων.

³ ἢ Capps, with all MSS. except M.

¹ Compare Plato, *Theaetetus* 172 d: "The flowing water urges me on"—κατεπέλγει γὰρ ὕδωρ βέον. A reference to the *κλεψύδρα* or water-clock, which was a receptacle filled with water and having a small vent through which water trickled slowly. Used to measure the time allotted to the speakers in Athenian law courts. See Aristophanes, *Wasps* 93. 857; Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens* 67. 2.

² See Cicero, *Laws* 1. 8. 4 for the same thought: "And so, of all the many kinds of living creatures there is none except man that has any concept of a god, while among men themselves there is no race so highly civilized or so savage that, even if it does not know what sort of god it ought to have, yet thinks that it ought to have one. This goes to show that man recognizes God because in a sense he remembers and

THE TWELFTH, OR OLYMPIC, DISCOURSE

expression,¹ but allows itself a great deal of license. Well, it is not difficult to run back again, just as on a voyage it is not difficult for competent steersmen who have got a little off their course to get back upon it.

To resume, then : Of man's belief in the deity and his assumption that there is a god we were maintaining that the fountain-head, as we may say, or source, was that idea which is innate in all mankind and comes into being as the result of the actual facts and the truth, an idea that was not framed confusedly nor yet at random, but has been exceedingly potent and persistent since the beginning of time, and has arisen among all nations and still remains, being, one may almost say, a common and general endowment of rational beings.²

As the second source we designate the idea which has been acquired and indeed implanted in men's souls through no other means than narrative accounts, myths, and customs, in some cases ascribed to no author and also unwritten, but in others written and having as their authors men of very great fame.³ Of this acquired notion of the divine being let us say that one part is voluntary and due to exhortation, another part compulsory and prescriptive.

recognizes the source from which he sprang"—*Itaque ex tot generibus nullum est animal praeter hominem, quod habeat notitiam aliquam dei, ipsisque in hominibus nulla gens est neque tam mansueta neque tam fera, quae non, etiamsi ignoret qualem habere deum deceat, tamen habendum sciat. ex quo efficitur illud, ut is agnoscat deum qui unde ortus sit quasi recordetur et agnoscat.*

¹ Plato (*Phaedrus* 237 d) speaks of two 'ideas,' the inborn desire (*ἔμφυτος ἐπιθυμία*) and the acquired opinion (*ἐπίκτητος δόξα*). See also his *Republic* 618 d.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

λέγω δὲ τοῦ μὲν ἔκουσίου καὶ παραμυθίας ἔχομένην
 τὴν τῶν ποιητῶν, τοῦ δὲ ἀναγκαίου καὶ προστάξεως τὴν τῶν νομοθετῶν· τούτων γὰρ οὐδετέραν
 ἴσχῦσαι δυνατὸν μὴ πρώτης ἐκείνης ὑπούστης, δι’
 ἣν βουλομένοις ἐνεγίγνοντο¹ καὶ τρόπον τινὰ
 προειδόσιν αὐτοῖς αἱ τε προστάξεις καὶ παραμυθίαι,
 τῶν μὲν ὄρθως καὶ ἔνυμφώνως ἔξηγουμένων ποιη-
 τῶν καὶ νομοθετῶν, τῇ τε ἀληθείᾳ καὶ ταῖς ἐννοίαις,
 41 τῶν δὲ ἀποπλανωμένων ἐν τισιν. ἀμφοῖν δὲ τοῖν
 λεγομένοιν ποτέραν πρεσβυτέραν φῶμεν τῷ χρόνῳ
 παρά γε ἡμῖν τοῖς Ἑλλησι, ποίησιν ἥ² τιμοθεσίαιν,
 οὐκ ἀν ἔχοιμι διατεινόμενος εἰπεῖν τῷ παρόντι.
 πρέπει δὲ ἵσως τὸ ἀζήμιον καὶ πειστικὸν³ ἀρχαιό-
 τερον εἶναι τοῦ μετὰ ζημίας καὶ προστάξεως.
 42 σχεδὸν οὖν μέχρι τοῦδε ὁμοίως πρόεισι τοῖς
 ἀνθρώποις τὰ περὶ τοῦ πρώτου καὶ ἀθανάτου
 γονέως, διν καὶ πατρῶν Δία καλοῦμεν οἱ τῆς
 Ἑλλάδος κοινωνοῦντες, καὶ τὰ περὶ τῶν θιητῶν καὶ
 ἀνθρωπίνων γονέων. καὶ γὰρ δὴ ἡ πρὸς ἐκείνους
 εὔνοια καὶ θεραπεία τοῖς ἐκγόνοις πρώτη μὲν ἀπὸ⁴
 τῆς φύσεως καὶ τῆς εὐεργεσίας ἀδίδακτος ὑπάρχει,
 τὸ γεννῆσαν καὶ τρέφον καὶ στέργον τοῦ γεννη-
 43 θέντος εὐθὺς ἀντιφιλοῦντος καὶ ἀντιθεραπεύοντος

¹ ἐνεγίγνοντο Capps: ἐγίγνοντο.

² ἥ Dindorf: καὶ.

³ πειστικὸν Koehler: ποιητικὸν.

⁴ That is, some of both the lawgivers and the poets.

THE TWELFTH, OR OLYMPIC, DISCOURSE

By the kind that depends upon voluntary acceptance and exhortation I mean that which is handed down by the poets, and by the kind that depends upon compulsion and prescription I mean that due to the lawgivers. I call these secondary because neither of them could possibly have gained strength unless that primary notion had been present to begin with; and because it was present, there took root in mankind, of their own volition and because they already possessed a sort of foreknowledge, the prescriptions of the lawgivers and the exhortations of the poets, some of them¹ expounding things correctly and in consonance with the truth and their hearers' notions, and others going astray in certain matters. But which of the two influences mentioned should be called the earlier in time, among us Greeks at any rate, namely, poetry or legislation, I am afraid I cannot discuss at length on the present occasion; but perhaps it is fitting that the kind which depended, not upon penalties, but upon persuasion should be more ancient than the kind which employed compulsion and prescription. Now up to this point, we may almost say, the feelings of the human race towards their first and immortal parent, whom we who have a share in the heritage of Hellas call Ancestral Zeus, develop step by step along with those which men have toward their mortal and human parents. For in truth the goodwill and desire to serve which the offspring feel toward their parents is, in the first type, present in them, untaught, as a gift of nature and as a result of acts of kindness received, since that which has been begotten straightway from birth loves and cherishes in return, so far as it may, that which begat and nourishes and loves it, whereas

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

ὅπως ἀνὴρ δινατόν, δευτέρα δὲ καὶ τρίτη, η̄ ἀπὸ¹ ποιητῶν καὶ νομοθετῶν, τῶν μὲν παραινούντων μὴ ἀποστερεῖν χάριν τὸ πρεσβύτερον καὶ ἔυγγενές, ἕτι δὲ αἴτιον ζωῆς καὶ τοῦ εἶναι, τῶν δὲ ἐπαναγκαζόντων καὶ ἀπειλούντων κόλασιν τοῖς οὐ πειθομένοις, ἃνευ τοῦ διασαφεῖν καὶ δηλοῦν ὅποιοι τινές εἰσιν οἱ γονεῖς καὶ τίνων εὐεργεσιῶν² χρέος ὁφειλόμενον κελεύουσι μὴ ἀνέκτιτον³ ἔαν. ἐν δὲ⁴ τοῖς περὶ τῶν θεῶν λόγοις καὶ μύθοις μᾶλλον ἕτι⁵ τοῦτο ἴδειν ἔστιν ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρων γιγνόμενον.

Ὥρῳ μὲν οὖν ἔγωγε τοῖς πολλοῖς πανταχοῦ τὴν ἀκρίβειαν κοπῶδες καὶ τὴν⁶ περὶ τοὺς λόγους οὐδὲν ἥττον οἷς μέλει πλήθυντος μόνον, οἵ⁷ οὐδὲν δὴ⁸ προειπόντες οὐδὲ διαστειλάμενοι περὶ τοῦ πράγματος, οὐδὲ ἀπό τινος ἀρχῆς ἀρχόμενοι τῶν λόγων, ἀλλ' αὐτόθεν,⁹ ὡς φασιν, ἀπλύτοις ποσὶ διεξίασι τὰ φανερώτατα καὶ γυμνότατα. καὶ ποδῶν μὲν ἀπλύτων οὐ μεγάλη βλάβη διά τε πηλοῦ καὶ πολλῶν καθαρμάτων ιόντων, γλώττης δὲ ἀνεπιστήμονος οὐ μικρὰ ζημία γίγνεται τοῖς ἀκροωμένοις. ἀλλὰ γὰρ εἰκὸς τοὺς πεπαιδευμένους, ὃν λόγον τινὰ¹⁰ ἔχειν ἄξιον, συνεξανύειν καὶ συνεκπονεῖν, μέχρις ἂν ὡς ἐκ καμπῆς τινος καὶ δυσχωρίας καταστήσωμεν εἰς εὐθεῖαν τοὺς λόγους.

¹ η̄ ἀπὸ added by Capps.

² εὐεργεσιῶν Emperius: εὐεργετῶν.

³ ἀνέκτιτον Morel: ἀνέκτιστον.

⁴ δὲ found in M.

⁵ ἕτι Wilamowitz: δὲ. Geel, followed by most editors, deleted the whole sentence.

⁶ τὴν Capps: τὰ.

⁸ δὴ Emperius: δὲ.

⁹ αὐτόθεν Wilamowitz: αὐτό γε.

¹⁰ Jacobs deleted εἰκότως after τινὰ and ἔχων after ἄξιον.

THE TWELFTH, OR OLYMPIC, DISCOURSE

the second and third types, which are derived from our poets and lawgivers, the former exhorting us not to withhold our gratitude from that which is older and of the same blood, besides being the author of life and being, the latter using compulsion and the threat of punishment for those who refuse obedience, without, however, making altogether clear and showing plainly just who parents are and what the acts of kindness are for which they enjoin upon us not to leave unpaid a debt which is due. But to an even greater extent do we see this to be true in both particulars in their stories and myths about the gods.

Now I am well aware that to most men strict exactness in any exposition is on every occasion irksome, and that exactness in a speech is no less so for those whose sole interest is in quantity alone; these without any preface whatever or any statements defining their subject-matter, nay, without even beginning their speeches with any beginning, but straight off 'with unwashed feet,'¹ as the saying is, proceed to expound things most obvious and naked to the sight. Now as for 'unwashed feet,' though they do no great harm when men must pass through mud and piles of refuse, yet an ignorant tongue causes no little injury to an audience. However, we may reasonably expect that the educated men of the audience, of whom one ought to take some account, will keep up with us and go through the task with us until we emerge from bypath and rough ground, as it were, and get our argument back upon the straight road.

¹ For another form of this expression, which means 'unprepared,' see Lucian, *Pseudologista* 4: *ἀνηπτοις ποστ*.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

44 Τριῶν δὴ προεκκειμένων¹ γενέσεων τῆς δαιμονίου παρ' ἀνθρώποις ὑπολήψεως, ἐμφύτου, ποιητικῆς, νομικῆς, τετάρτην φῶμεν τὴν πλαστικήν τε καὶ δημιουργικὴν τῶν περὶ τὰ θεῖα ἀγάλματα καὶ τὰς εἰκόνας, λέγω δὲ γραφέων τε καὶ ἀνδριαντοποιῶν καὶ λιθοξόων καὶ παντὸς ἀπλῶς τοῦ καταξιώσαντος αὐτὸν ἀποφῆναι μιμητὴν διὰ τέχνης τῆς δαιμονίας φύσεως, εἴτε σκιαγραφίᾳ μάλα ἀσθενεῖ καὶ ἀπατηλῇ πρὸς ὄψιν, εἴτε² χρωμάτων μίξει καὶ γραμμῆς ὅρῳ σχεδὸν τὸ ἀκριβέστατον περιλαμβάνουσσης, εἴτε λίθων γλυφαῖς εἴτε ξοάνων ἔργασίαις, κατ' ὀλίγον τῆς τέχνης ἀφαιρούσης τὸ περιττόν, ἕως ἂν καταλίπῃ αὐτὸν τὸ³ φαινόμενον εἶδος, εἴτε χωνείᾳ χαλκοῦ καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων ὅσα τίμια διὰ πυρὸς ἐλαθέντων ἢ ρύνεντων ἐπὶ τίνας τύπους, εἴτε κηροῦ πλάσει ῥάστα ξυνακολουθοῦντος τῇ τέχνῃ καὶ πλεῖστον ἐπιδεχομένου τὸ 45 τῆς μετανοίας· οἷος ἦν Φειδίας τε καὶ Ἀλκαμένης

¹ προεκκειμένων Arnim: προκειμένων.

² εἴτε added by Capps.

³ αὐτὸν τὸ Emperius: τὸ αὐτοῖς.

¹ See Strabo 1. 2. 7-9, p. 19-20 for the enumeration of these four.

² Compare Plato, *Critias*, 107 c: "We use a rough sketch very dim and illusive"—σκιαγραφίᾳ δὲ ἀσαφεῖ καὶ ἀπατηλῷ χρώμεθα. Such rough sketches were used in scene-painting.

³ C. G. C. cro, *De Divinatione*, 2. 21. 48: "but when the wax : the : have been removed and the outlines of the features

THE TWELFTH, OR OLYMPIC, DISCOURSE

Now that we have set before us three sources of man's conception of the divine being, to wit, the innate, that derived from the poets, and that derived from the lawgivers, let us name as the fourth that derived from the plastic art and the work of skilled craftsmen who make statues and likenesses of the gods¹—I mean painters and sculptors and masons who work in stone, in a word, everyone who has held himself worthy to come forward as a portrayer of the divine nature through the use of art, whether (1) by means of a rough sketch, very indistinct and deceptive to the eye,² or (2) by the blending of colours and by line-drawing, which produces a result which we can almost say is the most accurate of all, or (3) by the carving of stone, or (4) by the craft which makes images of wood, in which the artist little by little removes the excess of material until nothing remains but the shape which the observer sees,³ or (5) by the casting of bronze and the like precious metals, which are heated and then either beaten out or poured into moulds, or (6) by the moulding of wax, which most readily answers the artist's touch and affords the greatest opportunity for change of intention.⁴ To this class belong not only Pheidias but also Alcamenes⁵ and Polycleitus⁶ and

have been reached, then one can perceive that what has now been polished had always been inside the block⁷—sed cum multa sunt detracta et et ad lineamenta oris perventum est, tum intellegas ilud quod iam expolitum sit intus fuisse.

⁴ For correction of error in original design or for improvement of it.

⁵ Greek artist and pupil of Pheidias.

⁶ Fl. 452–412, sculptor, architect, artist in toreutic. Ex-celled in making images of men as Pheidias did in making those of gods.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

καὶ Πολύκλειτος, ἔτι δὲ Ἀγλαοφῶν καὶ Πολύγνωτος καὶ Ζεῦξις καὶ πρότερος αὐτῶν ὁ Δαιδαλος. οὐ γὰρ ἀπέχρη τούτοις περὶ τάλλα ἐπιδείκνυσθαι τὴν αὐτῶν δεινότητα καὶ σοφίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ θεῶν εἰκόνας καὶ διαθέσεις παντοδαπάς ἐπιδεικνύντες, ἵδια τε καὶ δημοσίᾳ χορηγοὺς τὰς πόλεις λαμβάνοντες, πολλῆς ἐνέπλησται ὑπουρίας καὶ ποικίλης περὶ τοῦ δαιμονίου, οὐ παντελῶς διαφερόμενοι τοῖς ποιηταῖς καὶ νομοθέταις, τὸ μὲν ὅπως μὴ δοκῶσι παράνομοι καὶ ταῖς ἐπικειμέναις ἐνέχωνται ζημίας, τὸ δὲ ὅρωντες προκατειλημμένους αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν ποιητῶν καὶ πρεσβυτέρων οὖσαν τὴν ἐκείνων 48 εἰδωλοποιίαν. οὕκουν ἐβούλοντο φιάνειται τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀπίθανοι καὶ ἀηδεῖς καινοποιοῦντες. τὰ μὲν οὖν πολλὰ τοῖς μύθοις ἐπόμενοι καὶ συνηγοροῦντες ἐπλαττον, τὰ δὲ καὶ παρὰ αὐτῶν εἰσέφερον, ἀντίτεχνοι καὶ δόμοτεχνοι τρόπον τινὰ γιγνόμενοι τοῖς ποιηταῖς, ὡς ἐκεῖνοι δι' ἀκοῆς ἐπιδεικνύντες, ἀτεχνῶς καὶ αὐτοὶ δι' ὄψεως ἐξηγούμενοι τὰ θεῖα τοῖς πλείοσι καὶ ἀπειροτέροις θεαταῖς. πάντα δὲ ταῦτα τὴν ἴσχυν ἔσχεν ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἀρχῆς ἐκείνης, ὡς ἐπὶ τιμῇ καὶ χάριτι ποιούμενα τοῦ δαιμονίου.

47 Καὶ μὴν δίχα γε τῆς ἀπλῆς καὶ πρεσβυτάτης

¹ Father and teacher of Polygnotus. Famed as painter in first half of fifth century B.C.

² One of the most celebrated Greek painters. Came to Athens about 463 B.C.

³ Fl. 424-380, celebrated Greek painter.

⁴ Mythical personage, whose name means ‘cunning craftsman.’ Said to have been very skilled sculptor and mechanic. Made the wooden cow for Pasiphaë and the labyrinth to hold the Minotaur,

THE TWELFTH, OR OLYMPIC, DISCOURSE

further, Aglaophon¹ and Polygnotus² and Zeuxis³ and, earlier than all these, Daedalus.⁴ For these men were not satisfied to display their cleverness and skill on commonplace subjects, but by exhibiting all sorts of likenesses and representations of gods they secured for their patrons both private persons and the states, whose people they filled with an ample and varied conception of the divine; and here they did not differ altogether from the poets and law-givers, in the one case that they might not be considered violators of the laws and thus make themselves liable to the penalties imposed upon such, and in the other case because they saw that they had been anticipated by the poets and that the poets' *image-making* was the earlier.⁵ Consequently they *were* not to appear to the many as untrustworthy and to be disliked for making innovations. In most matters, accordingly, they adhered to the myths and maintained agreement with them in their representations, but in some few cases they contributed their own ideas, becoming in a sense the rivals as well as fellow-craftsmen of the poets, since the latter appealed to the ear alone, whereas it was simply through the eye⁶ that they, for their part, interpreted the divine attributes to their more numerous and less cultivated spectators. And all these influences won strength from that primary impulse, as having originated with the honouring of the divine being and winning his favour.

And furthermore, quite apart from that simple

¹ Compare Strabo 1. 2. 7-9 and § 57 of this Discourse.

² Compare Herodotus, 1. 8: *ῶτα γὰρ τυγχάνει ἀνθρώποισι ξοντα ἀπιστότερα δῆθαλμῶν*. See also § 79 of this Discourse.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

ἐννοίας περὶ θεῶν καὶ ἔνγγεινῶς πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις
άμα τῷ λόγῳ φυομένης, πρὸς τοῖς τρισὶ τούτοις
έρμηνεῦσι καὶ διδασκάλοις ποιητικῆς καὶ νομο-
θετικῆς καὶ δημιουργικῆς, τέταρτοι ἀνάγκη παρα-
λαβεῖν, οὐδαμῇ ῥάθυμον οὐδὲ ἀπείρως ἡγούμενον
ἔχειν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, λέγω δὴ¹ τὸν φιλόσοφον
ἄνδρα, ἦ λόγῳ² ἔξηγητὴν καὶ προφήτην τῆς ἀθα-
νάτου φύσεως ἀληθέστατον ἵπως καὶ τελειότατον.

48 Τὸν μὲν οὖν νομοθέτην ἐάσωμεν τὰ νῦν εἰς
εὐθύνας ἄγειν, ἄνδρα αὐτηρὸν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους
αὐτὸν εὐθύνοντα· δέοι γὰρ ἄν αὐτὸν αὐτοῦ φείδε-
σθαι καὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀσχολίας. ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν
λοιπῶν ἕκαστου γένους προχειρισάμενοι τὸν ἄκρον
σκοπῶμεν, εἴ τινα ὠφέλειαν ἦ³ καὶ βλάβην φαινή-
σονται πεποιηκότες πρὸς εὐσέβειαν τοῖς αὐτῶν
ἔργοις ἦ λόγοις, ὅπως τε ἔχουσιν δμολογίας ἦ
τοῦ διαφέρεσθαι ἀλλήλοις, καὶ τίς αὐτῶν ἔνν-
έπεται τῷ ἀληθεῖ μάλιστα, τῇ πρώτῃ καὶ ἀδόλῳ
γνώμῃ σύμφωνος ὡν. πάντες τοιγαροῦν οὗτοι
ἔνναρδουσιν, ὥσπερ ἐνὸς ἵχνους λαβόμενοι, καὶ
τοῦτο σώζοντες, οἱ μὲν σαφῶς, οἱ δὲ ἀδηλό-
τερον. οὐ γὰρ ἄν ἵσως δέοιτο παραμυθίας δ⁴
τῇ ἀληθείᾳ φιλόσοφος, εἰ πρὸς σύγκρισιν ἄγοιτο
ποιηταῖς ἀγαλμάτων ἦ μέτρων, καὶ ταῦτα ἐν
ὅχλῳ πανηγύρεως ἐκείνοις φίλων δικαστῶν;

¹ δὴ Cappi: δὲ.

² λόγῳ Venetian edition: λόγων.

³ ἦ Wilamowitz: τε.

⁴ δὲ added by Reiske.

THE TWELFTH, OR OLYMPIC, DISCOURSE

and earliest notion of the gods, which develops in the hearts of all men along with their reasoning power,¹ in addition to those three interpreters and teachers, the poets, the lawgivers, and creative artists, we must take on a fourth one, who is by no means indifferent nor believes himself unacquainted with the gods, I mean the philosopher,² the one who by means of reason interprets and proclaims the divine nature, most truly, perhaps, and most perfectly.

As to the lawgiver, let us omit for the present to hale him here for an accounting; a stern man is he and himself accustomed to hold all others to an accounting. Indeed, we ought to have consideration for ourselves and for our own preoccupation.³ But as for the rest, let us select the foremost man of each class, and consider whether they will be found to have done by their acts or words any good or harm to piety, and how they stand as to agreement with each other or divergence from one another, and which one of them adheres to the truth most closely, being in harmony with that primary and guileless view. Now in fact all these men speak with one voice, just as if they had taken the one track and were keeping to it, some clearly and others less plainly. Would the true philosopher, perhaps, not stand in need of consolation if he should be brought into comparison with the makers of statues or of poetic measures, and that too, before the throng of a national *stadium gathering* where the judges are predisposed in his favor?

¹ Cf. § 27.

² See p. 18 f, note 4.

³ The Olympic Games offered many attractions to the people, and Dio feels that he must not hold them too long.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

49 Εἰ γάρ τις Φειδίαν πρῶτον ἐν τοῖς Ἐλλησιν εὐθύνοι, τὸν σοφὸν τοῦτον καὶ δαιμόνιον ἔργατην τοῦ σεμιοῦ καὶ παγκάλου δημιουργήματος, καθίσας δικαστὰς τοὺς βραβεύοντας τῷ θεῷ τὸν ἄγωνα, μᾶλλον δὲ κοινὸν δικαστήριον ἔχυμπάντων Πελοποννησίων, ἔτι δὲ Βοιωτῶν καὶ Ιώνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἐλλήνων τῶν πανταχοῦ κατὰ τὴν Εύρωπην καὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν, οὐ τῶν χρημάτων λόγον ἀπαιτῶν οὐδὲ τῆς περὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα διπάνης, ὅπόσων χρυσὸς ὡνήθη ταλάντων καὶ ἐλέφας, ἔτι δὲ κυπάριττος καὶ θύον, πρὸς τὴν ἐντὸς ἔργασίαν μόνιμος ὑλη καὶ ἀδιάφθορος,¹ τροφῆς τε καὶ μισθῶν ἀναλώματος¹ τοῖς ἔργασταμένοις οὐκ ὀλίγοις οὐδὲ ὀλίγον χρόνον ἄλλοις τε οὐ φαύλοις δημιουργοῖς καὶ τοῦ πλείστου καὶ² τελεωτάτου μισθοῦ ὑπὲρ τῆς τέχνης Φειδίᾳ· ταῦτα μὲν γὰρ Ἡλείοις προσήκοντα λογίσασθαι τοῖς ἀναλώσασιν ἀφθόνως καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῶς,
50 ήμεῖς δὲ ὑπὲρ ἄλλου φήσομεν τῷ Φειδίᾳ προκεῖσθαι τὸν ἄγωνα· εἰ οὖν δὴ λέγοι τις πρὸς αὐτόν.

"Ω βέλτιστε καὶ ἄριστε τῶν δημιουργῶν, ὡς μὲν³ ἥδυν καὶ προσφιλὲς ὄραμα καὶ τέρψιν ἀμήχανον θέας εἴργασω πᾶσιν Ἐλλησι καὶ βαρβάροις, ὅσοι ποτὲ δεῦρο ἀφίκοντο πολλοὶ 51 πολλάκις, οὐδεὶς ἀντερεῖ. τῷ γὰρ ὅντι καὶ τὴν ἄλογον ἀν ἐκπλήξει⁴ τοῦτό γε τῶν ζῷων φύσιν,

¹ ἐντὸς ἔργασίαν μόνιμος ὑλη καὶ ἀδιάφθορος Αγνίμ: ἐν τῇ ἔργασίᾳ μόνιμον ὑλην καὶ ἀδιάφθορον.

² Geel restores the genitives for ἀνάλωμα and τὸν πλείστου καὶ τελεώτατον μισθὸν of the MSS.

³ ὡς μὲν Venetian edition: ὡς μὲν οὖν.

⁴ ἄλογον ἀν ἐκπλήξει Geel: ἀν ἄλογον ἐκπλήξει.

THE TWELFTH, OR OLYMPIC, DISCOURSE

Suppose, for instance, that someone were to take Pheidias first and question him before the tribunal of the Hellenes, Pheidias, that wise and divinely-inspired creator of this awe-inspiring masterpiece of surpassing beauty, and should appoint as judges the men who are directing this contest in honour of the god, or better, a general court of all the Peloponnesians and of the Boeotians, too, and Ionians and of the other Hellenes, wherever they are to be found in Asia as well as in Europe, and then suppose they should demand an accounting, not of the monies or of the sum spent on the statue—the number of talents paid for gold and ivory, and for cypress and citron-wood, which are durable and indestructible timber for the interior work, or of the expenditure for the maintenance and wages of the workmen, who were not few in number and worked for so long a time, the wages not only of the men in general, who were no mean artisans, but of Pheidias also, to whom went the greatest and fullest reward on account of his artistic skill—of these items, I say, it was fitting that the Eleans, who poured out their money so lavishly and magnificently, should have called for a reckoning; but as for us, we shall maintain that it is for something else that Pheidias must submit to trial. Suppose, then, that someone should actually say to him:

“ O best and noblest of artists, how charming and pleasing a spectacle you have wrought, and a vision of infinite delight for the benefit of all men, both Greeks and barbarians, who have ever come here, as they have come in great throngs and time after time, no one will gainsay. For verily even the irrational brute creation would be so struck with awe if they

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

εἰ δύναιτο προσιδένη μόνοι, ταύρων τε τῶν ἀεὶ πρὸς τόνδε τὸν βωμὸν ἀγομένων, ὡς ἐκόντας ὑπείκειν¹ τοῖς καταρχομένοις, εἴ τινα παρέξουσι τῷ θεῷ χάριν, ἔτι δὲ ἀετῶν τε καὶ ἵππων καὶ λεόντων, ὡς τὸ ἀνήμερον καὶ ἄγριον σβέσαιτας τοῦ θυμοῦ πολλὴν ἡσυχίαν ἔγειν, τερφθέντας² ὑπὸ τῆς θέας· ἀνθρώπων δέ, ὃς ἂν ἢ παιτελᾶς ἐπίπονος τὴν ψυχήν, πολλὰς ἀναντλήσας³ συμφορὰς καὶ λύπας ἐν τῷ βίῳ μηδὲ ὕπνον ἥδον ἐπιβαλλόμενος,⁴ καὶ ὃς δοκεῖ μοι κατ' ἐνιαυτίον στὰς τῆσδε τῆς εἰκόνος ἐκλαθέσθαι ἂν⁵ πάντων ὅστις ἐν ἀνθρωπίῳ βίῳ δεινὰ καὶ χαλεπὰ γίγνεται παθεῖν. οὕτως σύγε ἀνεῦρες καὶ ἐμηχαιτίσω θέαμα, ἀτεχνῶς

νηπειθέσ τ' ἄχολόν τε, καικῶν ἐπίληθες ἀπάντων.

τοσοῦτον φῶς καὶ τοσαύτη χάρις ἐπεστιν ἀπὸ τῆς τέχνης. οὐδὲ γάρ ἂν⁶ αὐτὸν τὸν "Ηφαιστον εὔκος ἐγκαλέσαι τῷδε τῷ ἔργῳ, κρίνοντα πρὸς ἥδονὴν καὶ τέρψιν ἀνθρωπίῃς ὄψεως.

Εἰ δ' αὖ τὸ πρέπον εἶδος καὶ τὴν ἀξίαν μορφὴν τῆς θεοῦ φύσεως ἐδημιούργησας ὕλη τε ἐπιτερπεῖ χρησάμενος, ἀνδρός τε μορφὴν ὑπερφυῆ τὸ κάλλος καὶ τὸ μέγεθος δεῖξας, πλήν τ'⁷ ἀνδρὸς καὶ τάλλα ποιήσας ὡς ἐποίησας, σκοπῶμεν τὰ νῦν. ὑπὲρ

¹ ὑπείκειν Cooho : ὑπέχειν.

² τερφθέντα Geel : τερφθέντα.

³ ἀναντλήσας Vindorf : ἀπαντλήσας.

⁴ Cappes conjectures μηδὲ ἐν ὕπνῳ ἥδει ἐπιλαθόμενος—"which even in sweet sleep he could never forget." Agnimit, condemning ἐπιβαλλόμενος, suggests ἀτε λαμβάνων.

⁵ ἂν added by Geel.

⁶ ἂν P.Y., omitted by other MSS.

⁷ τ' added by Cappes. δὲ τάνδρὸς Schwartz.

THE TWELFTH, OR OLYMPIC, DISCOURSE

could catch merely a glimpse of yonder statue, not only the bulls¹ which are being continually led to this altar, so that they would willingly submit themselves to the priests who perform the rites of sacrifice, if so they would be giving some pleasure to the god, but eagles too, and horses and lions, so that they would subdue their untamed and savage spirits and preserve perfect quiet, delighted by the vision ; and of men, whoever is sore distressed in soul, having in the course of his life drained the cup of many misfortunes and griefs, nor ever winning sweet sleep—even this man, methinks, if he stood before this image, would forget all the terrors and hardships that fall to our human lot. Such a wondrous vision did you devise and fashion, one in very truth a

Charmer of grief and anger, that from men
All the remembrance of their ills could loose !²

So great the radiance and so great the charm with which your art has clothed it. Indeed it is not reasonable to suppose that even Hephaestus himself would criticize this work if he judged it by the pleasure and delight which it affords the eye of man."

" But, on the other hand, was the shape you by your artistry produced appropriate to a god and was its form worthy of the divine nature, when you not only used a material which gives delight but also presented a human form of extraordinary beauty and size; and apart from its being a man's shape, made also all the other attributes as you have made them? that is the question which I invite you

¹ The statue of Zeus was within the temple, where the bulls being sacrificed at the altar outside could not see it.

² Homer, *Odyssey* 4. 221, translated by Mackail.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

ῶν ἀπολογησάμενος ἵκανῶς ἐν τοῖς παροῦσι, καὶ πείσας ὅτι τὸ οἰκεῖον καὶ τὸ πρέπον ἔξευρες σχήματός τε καὶ μορφῆς τῷ πρώτῳ καὶ μεγίστῳ θεῷ, μισθὸν ἔτερον τοῦ παρ' Ἡλείων προσλάβοις
 53 ἄν¹ μείζω καὶ τελειότερον. ὁρᾶς γὰρ ὅτι οὐ μικρὸς ἄγων οὐδ' ὁ κίνδυνος ἡμῖν. πρότερον μὲν γάρ, ἄτε οὐδὲν σαφὲς εἰδότες, ἄλλην ἄλλος ἀνεπλάττομεν ἰδέαν, πᾶν τὸ θεῖον² κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν καὶ φύσιν ἔκαστος ἴδαλλόμενοι καὶ ὀνειρώττοντες· εἴ τέ πού τινα μικρὰ καὶ ἀσημα συλλέγομεν³ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν εἰκάσματα τεχνιτῶν, οὐ πάνυ τούτοις οὕτε πιστεύοντες οὕτε προσέχοντες τὸν νοῦν. σὺ δέ γε ἵσχυς τέχνης ἐνίκησας καὶ ξυνήλλαξας⁴ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πρῶτον, ἔπειτα τοὺς ἄλλους τῷδε τῷ φάσματι, θεσπέσιον καὶ λαμπρὸν ἀποδείξας, ὡς μηδὲνα τῶν ἰδόντων
 54 δόξαν ἔτέραν ἔτι λαβεῖν ῥαδίως. ἀρ' οὖν οἵει τὸν Ἱφιτον καὶ τὸν Λυκοῦργον καὶ τοὺς τότε Ἡλείους διὰ χρημάτων ἀπορίαν τὸν μὲν ἄγωνα καὶ τὴν θυσίαν ποιῆσαι τῷ Διὶ πρέπουσαν, ἄγαλμα δὲ μηδὲν ἔξευρεν ἐπ' ὄνόματι καὶ σχήματι τοῦ θεοῦ, σχεδόν τι προέχοντας δυνάμει τῶν ὕστερον, ἢ μᾶλλον φοβηθέντας μήποτε οὐ δύναιντο⁵ ἵκανῶς

¹ ἄν added by Geel.

² Αρνίμ Σαρρα : Αἰγαῖον. Arnim deletes πᾶν τὸ θυητὸν and is : Wilamowitz would substitute παντόθεν.

³ συλλέγομεν Cohoon, συννοοῦμεν Capps : συλλέγοντες.

⁴ ξυνήλλαξας Emperius : ξυνέλεξας.

⁵ οὐ δύναιντο Schwartz : οὐκ ἔδύναντο UB οὐκ ἄν δύναιντο P.

¹ See p. 28, note 1.

THE TWELFTH, OR OLYMPIC, DISCOURSE

to consider now. And if you make a satisfactory defence on these matters before those present and convince them that you have discovered the proper and fitting shape and form for the foremost and greatest god, then you shall receive in addition a second reward, greater and more perfect than the one given by the Eleans. For you see that the issue is no small one, nor the danger, for us. Since in times past, because we had no clear knowledge, we formed each his different idea, and each person, according to his capacity and nature, conceived a likeness for every divine manifestation and fashioned such likenesses in his dreams ; and if we do perchance collect any small and insignificant likenesses made by the earlier artists, we do not trust them very much nor pay them very much attention. But *you* by the power of your art first conquered and united Hellas and then all others by means of this wondrous presentment, showing forth so marvellous and dazzling a conception, that none of those who have beheld it could any longer easily form a different one.¹ Pray, do you imagine that it was owing to lack of money that Iphitus² and Lycurgus³ and the Eleans of that period, while instituting the contest and the sacrifice in such wise as to be worthy of Zeus, yet failed to search for and find a statue to bear the name and show the aspect of the god, although they were, one might almost say, superior in power to their descendants ? Or was it rather because they feared that they would never be able adequately to portray

¹ The Olympic Games are said to have been renewed by a certain Iphitus after a long interruption. See Pausanias 5. 8. 5; scholia to Pindar *Olymp.* 3. 20.

² Said to have helped Iphitus re-establish the Olympian Games, but according to Xenophon lived 200 years earlier.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

ἀπομιμήσασθαι διὰ θυητῆς τέχνης τὴν ἄκραν καὶ τελειοτάτην φύσιν;

55 Πρὸς δὴ ταῦτα τυχὸν εἴποι ἀν Φειδίας, ἅτε ἀνὴρ οὐκ ἄγλωττος οὐδὲ ἄγλωττου πόλεως, ἔτι δὲ συνήθης καὶ ἑταῖρος Περικλέους·

"Ανδρες Ἑλληνες, δο μὲν ἀγάν τῶν πώποτε μέγιστος· οὐ γὰρ περὶ ἀρχῆς οὐδὲ περὶ στρατηγίας μιᾶς πόλεως οὐδὲ περὶ νεῶν πλήθυντος ἢ πεζοῦ στρατοπέδου, πότερον ὀρθῶς ἢ μὴ διφέρονται, τὰ νῦν ὑπέχω λόγον, ἀλλὰ περὶ τοῦ πάντων κρατοῦντος θεοῦ καὶ τῆς πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ὁμοιώσεως,¹ εἴτε εὐσχημόνως καὶ προσεοικότως γέγονεν, οὐδὲν ἐλλείποντα τῆς δυνατῆς πρὸς τὸ δαιμόνιον ἀνθρώποις ἀπεικασίας, εἴτε ἀναξία καὶ ἀπρεπής.

56 Ἐνθυμεῖσθε δὲ ὅτι οὐκ ἐγὼ πρῶτος ὑμῖν ἐγενόμην ἐξηγητῆς καὶ διδάσκαλος τῆς ἀληθείας. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔφυν ἔτι² κατ' ἀρχὰς τῆς Ἑλλάδος οὐδέπω σαφῆ καὶ ἀραρότα δόγματα ἔχοντος περὶ τούτων, ἀλλὰ πρεσβυτέρας τρόπον τινὰ καὶ τὰ³ περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἥδη πεπεισμένης καὶ νομιζούσης ἴσχυρῶς. καὶ ὅσα μὲν λιθοξόων ἔργα ἢ γραφέων ἀρχαιότερα τῆς ἐμῆς τέχνης σύμφωνα ἡσαν, πλὴν ὅσον κατὰ τὴν ἀκρίβειαν τῆς ποιήσεως, ἐῶ λέγειν·
57 δόξας δὲ ὑμετέρας κατέλαβον παλαιὰς ἀκινήτους, αἷς οὐκ ἦν ἐναντιοῦσθαι δυνατόν, καὶ δημιουργοὺς

¹ ὁμοιώσεως Ar nim : ὁμοιότητος.

² ἔφυν ἔτι Apogr. : ἔφην ὅτι.

³ τὰ added by Schwartz.

THE TWELFTH, OR OLYMPIC, DISCOURSE

by human art the Supreme and most Perfect Being?"

Perhaps in answer to this Pheidias would say, since he was not tongue-tied nor belonged to a tongue-tied city, and besides was the close friend and comrade of Pericles:¹

" My Greek fellow-citizens, the issue is the greatest that has ever arisen. For it is not about empire or the presidency of one single state or the size of the navy or as to whether an army of infantry has or has not been correctly administered, that I am now being called to account, but concerning that god who governs the universe and my representation of him: whether it has been made with due respect to the dignity of the god and so as to be a true likeness of him, in no way falling short of the best portrayal of the divinity that is within the capacity of human beings to make, or is unworthy of him and unbefitting.

" Remember, too, that it is not I who was your first expounder and teacher of the truth, for I was not even born as yet when Hellas began to be and while it still had no ideas that were firmly established about these matters, but when it was rather old, so to speak, and already had strong beliefs and convictions about the gods. And all the works of sculptors or painters earlier than my art which I found to be in harmony therewith, except so far as the perfection of the workmanship is concerned, I omit to mention; your views, however, I found to be ingrained, not to be changed, so that it was not possible to oppose them, and I found other artistic

¹ The Athenians in contrast to the taciturn Spartans approved of lengthy discussion and oratory. Pericles' eloquence helped him to maintain his political power in Athens.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

ἄλλους περὶ τὰ θεῖα, πρεσβυτέρους ἡμῶν καὶ πολὺ σοφωτέρους ἀξιοῦντας εἶναι, τοὺς ποιητάς, ἐκείνων μὲν δυναμένων εἰς πᾶσαν ἐπίνοιαν ἄγειν διὰ τῆς ποιήσεως, τῶν δὲ ἡμετέρων αὐτουργημάτων μόνην ταύτην ἵκαντὴν ἔχοντων εἴκασίαν.

58 τὰ γὰρ θεῖα φάσματα, λέγω δὲ ἥλίου καὶ σελήνης καὶ σύμπαντος οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἀστρων, αὐτὰ μὲν καθ' αὐτὰ φαινόμενα θαυμαστὰ πάντως, ή δὲ μύμησις αὐτῶν ἀπλῆ καὶ ἅπεχρος, εἴ τις ἐθέλοι τὸ σελήνης σχῆματα ἀφομοιοῦν ἢ τὸν ἥλίου κύκλον. ἔτι δὲ ἥθους καὶ διαιρούσις αὐτὰ μὲν ἔκεινα μεστὰ πάντως,¹ ἐν δὲ τοῖς εἰκάσμασιν οὐδὲν ἐνδεικνύμενα τοιοῦτον. ὅθεν² ἴσως καὶ τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς οὕπω³ ἐνομίσθη τοῖς

59 "Ελλησι. νοῦν γὰρ καὶ φρόνησιν αὐτὴν μὲν καθ' αὐτὴν οὔτε τις πλάστης οὔτε τις γραφεὺς εἰκάσαι δυνατὸς ἔσται. ἀθέατοι γὰρ τῶν τοιούτων καὶ ἀνιστόρητοι παντελῶς πάντες. τὸ δὲ ἐν ᾧ τοῦτο γιγνόμενόν ἔστιν οὐχ ὑπονοοῦντες, ἀλλ' εἰδότες, ἐπ' αὐτὸν καταφεύγομεν, ἀνθρώπων σῶμα ὡς⁴ ἀγγεῖον φρονήσεως καὶ λόγου θεῷ προσάπτοντες, ἐνδείᾳ καὶ ἀπορίᾳ παραδείγματος τῷ φανερῷ τε καὶ εἰκαστῷ τὸ ἀνείκαστον καὶ ἀφανὲς ἐνδείκνυσθαι ζητοῦντες, συμβόλου δυνάμει χρώμενοι, κρείττον ἢ φασὶ τῶν βαρβάρων τινὰς ζῷοις τὸ θεῖον ἀφομοιοῦν κατὰ σμικρὰς καὶ ἀτόπους ἀφορμάς. ὁ δὲ πλεῖστον ὑπερβαλὼν

¹ πάντως Reiske : πάντων.

² ὅθεν Selden : οἷον.

³ οὕπω Capps : οὗτως.

⁴ ὡς Jacobs : καὶ.

¹ He means Homer; cf. next note.

² i.e., sculpture could only be compared with sculpture as to truthful portrayal, based on sculptors' conception of the deity. He refers to Homer; cf. section 62 *infra*.

THE TWELFTH, OR OLYMPIC, DISCOURSE

portrayers of the divinity who were older than I and considered themselves much wiser, namely the poets,¹ for they were able through their poetry to lead men to accept any sort of idea, whereas our artistic productions have only this one adequate standard of comparison.² For those divine manifestations—I mean the sun and the moon and the entire heavens and the stars—while in and of themselves they certainly appear marvellous, yet the artist's portrayal of them is simple and has no need of artistic skill, if one should wish merely to depict the moon's crescent or the sun's full orb; and furthermore, whereas those heavenly bodies certainly, taken by themselves, reveal in abundance character and purpose, yet in their representations they show nothing to suggest this: which perhaps is the reason why at first they were not yet regarded by the Greeks as deities. For mind and intelligence in and of themselves no statuary or painter will ever be able to represent; for all men are utterly incapable of observing such attributes with their eyes or of learning of them by inquiry. But as for that in which this intelligence manifests itself, men, having no mere inkling thereof but actual knowledge, fly to it for refuge, attributing to God a human body as a vessel to contain intelligence and rationality, in their lack of a better illustration, and in their perplexity seeking to indicate that which is invisible and ~~unportrayable~~ by means of something portrayable and visible, using the function of a symbol and doing so better than certain barbarians, who are said to represent the divine by animals—using as his starting-point symbols which are trivial and absurd. But that man who has stood out most

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

κάλλει καὶ σεμνότητι καὶ μεγαλοπρεπείᾳ, σχεδὸν
οὗτος πολὺ κράτιστος δημιουργὸς τῷ τοι περὶ τὰ

60 θεῖα ἀγαλμάτων.

Οὐδὲ γὰρ ὡς βέλτιον ὑπῆρχεν ἄν¹ μηδὲν
ἴδρυμα μηδὲ εἰκόνα θεῶν ἀποδεδεῖχθαι παρ'
ἀνθρώποις φαίη τις ἄν, ὡς πρὸς μόνη ὅραν
δέον τὰ οὐράνια. ταῦτα μὲν γὰρ ἔνυμπαντα
ὅ γε νοῦν ἔχων σέβει, θεοὺς ἥγονύμενος μακαρίους
μακρόθεν ὅρῶν· διὰ δὲ τὴν πρὸς τὸ δαιμόνιον
γνώμην² ἵσχυρὸς ἔρως πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἐγγύθεν
τιμᾶν καὶ θεραπεύειν τὸ θεῖον, προσιόντας καὶ
ἀπτομένους μετὰ πειθοῦς, θύοντας καὶ στεφα-
61 νοῦντας. ἀτεχνῶς γὰρ ὥσπερ νήπιοι παῖδες
πατρὸς ἢ μητρὸς ἀπεσπασμένοι δεινὸν ἴμερον
ἔχοντες καὶ πόθον ὀρέγουσι χεῖρας οὐ παροῦσι
πολλάκις ὀνειρώττοντες, οὕτω καὶ θεοῦς³ ἀνθρω-
ποι ἀγαπῶντες δικαίως διά τε εὐεργεσίαν καὶ
συγγένειαν, προθυμούμενοι πάντα τρόπον συνεῖναι
τε καὶ διμιλεῖν· ὥστε καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων
πενίᾳ τε καὶ ἀπορίᾳ τέχνης ὅρη θεοὺς ἐπονομά-
ζουσι καὶ δένδρα ἄργα καὶ ἀσήμους λίθους, οὐδαμῇ
οὐδαμῶς⁴ οἰκειότερα τὴν μορφήν.⁵

62 Εἰ δ' ὑμῶν ἐπαίτιος εἴμι τοῦ σχήματος, οὐκ
ἄν φθάνοιτε 'Ομήρω πρότερον χιλεπῶς ἔχοιτες.
Ἐκεῖνος γὰρ οὐ μόνον μορφὴν ἐγγύτατα ταύτης⁶

¹ ὑπῆρχεν ἄν Capps : ὑπῆρχε.

² For γνώμην Wilamowitz conjectured ὅρμην.

³ θεοῦς Emperorius : θεοὺς.

⁴ The doubly emphatic οὐδαμῇ οὐδαμῶς is a familiar Platonic idiom. Cf. *Phaedr.* 78 d, *Theuct.* 176 c, *Phileb.* 29 b. Jacobs, followed by von Arnim, wrongly deletes οὐδαμῶς.

⁵ τὴν μορφήν Cohoon : τῆς μορφῆς.

⁶ ταύτης added by Capps.

THE TWELFTH, OR OLYMPIC, DISCOURSE

above others in respect of beauty and majesty and splendour,¹ he, we may say, has been by far the greatest creator of the images of the divine beings.²

For certainly no one would maintain that it had been better that no statue or picture of gods should have been exhibited among men, on the ground that we should look only at the heavens. For although the intelligent man does indeed reverence all those objects, believing them to be blessed gods that he sees from a great distance, yet on account of our belief in the divine all men have a strong yearning to honour and worship the deity from close at hand, approaching and laying hold of him with persuasion by offering sacrifice and crowning him with garlands. For precisely as infant children when torn away from father or mother are filled with terrible longing and desire, and stretch out their hands to their absent parents often in their dreams, so also do men to the gods, rightly loving them for their beneficence and kinship, and being eager in every possible way to be with them and to hold converse with them. Consequently many of the barbarians, because they lack artistic means and find difficulty in employing them, name mountains gods, and unhewn trees, too, and unshapen stones, things which are by no means whatever more appropriate in shape than is the human form.

" But if you find fault with me for the human figure, you should make haste to be angry with Homer first; for he not only represented a form most

¹ i.e., of his conception of God.

² He refers to Homer; cf. § 62 *infra*.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

τῆς δημιουργίας ἐμιμήσατο, χάίτας τε ὀνομάζων
τοῦ θεοῦ, ἔτι δὲ ἀνθερεῶντα εὐθὺς ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς
ποιήσεως, ὅτε φησὶν ἵκετεύειν τὴν Θέτιν ὑπέρ
τιμῆς τοῦ παιδός· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ὁμιλίας τε
καὶ βουλεύσεις¹ καὶ δημηγορίας² ἔνεμεν³ τοῖς
θεοῖς, ἔτι δὲ ἐξ Ἱδης ἀφίξεις πρὸς οὐρανὸν καὶ
Ολυμπον, ὕπνους τε καὶ συμπόσια καὶ μίξεις,
μάλα μὲν ὑψηλῶς σύμπαντα κοιταῖν τοῖς ἔπεσιν,
ὅμως δὲ ἔχόμενα θυητῆς ὁμοιότητος· καὶ δή γε
καὶ ὅποτε ἐτόλμησεν Ἀγαμέμνονα προτεικεῖσαι
τοῦ θεοῦ τοῖς κυριωτάτοις μέρεσιν εἰπών,

δύματα καὶ κεφαλὴν ἵκελος Διὶ τερπικεραύνῳ.

τὸ δέ γε τῆς ἐμῆς ἐργασίας οὐκάν τις οὐδὲ μινεῖς
63 τινι ἀφομοιώσειν οὐδεὶν ὥτινι⁴ θυητῷ, πρὸς
κάλλος ἢ μέγεθος θεοῦ συνεξεταζόμενον, ὅπου⁵ γε
εἰ μὴ Ὁμήρου πολὺ φανῶν κρείττων καὶ σωφρονέ-
στερος ποιητῆς, τοῦ δόξαντος ὑμῖν ἴστοθέντι τὴν
σοφίαν, ἦν βούλεσθε ζημίαν ἔτοιμος ὑπέχειν
ἐγώ. λέγω δὲ πρὸς τὸ δυνατὸν τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ
64 τέχνης· δαψιλὲς γὰρ χρῆμα ποίησις καὶ πάντα⁶
τρόπον εὔπορον καὶ αὐτόνομον, καὶ χορηγίᾳ
γλώττης καὶ πλήθει ρήμάτων ἵκανὸν ἐξ αὐτοῦ
πάντα δηλώσαι τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς βουλήματα, καν
ὅποιονοῦν διανοηθῆ σχῆμα ἢ ἔργον ἢ πάθος

¹ βουλεύσεις Reiske: βουλήσεις.

² δημηγορίας Reiske: δημιουργίας.

³ ἔνεμεν added by Capps. Geel proposed ἐν before τοῖς.

⁴ ὥτινι added by Capps, cf. Or. 23. 8: οὐδεὶν ΠΥ, οὐδὲ οὐθενὶ MSS.

⁵ ὅπου Capps: ἀφ' οὗ.

¹ Homer, *Iliad* 2. 478, translated by the Earl of Derby.

THE TWELFTH, OR OLYMPIC, DISCOURSE

nearly like this statue of mine by mentioning the flowing locks of the god and the chin too at the very beginning of his poem, when he says that Thetis made supplication for the bestowal of honour upon her son; but in addition to these things he ascribes to the gods meetings and counsellings and harangues, then also journeyings from Ida to the heavens and Olympus, and sleep-scenes and drinking-bouts and love-embraces, clothing everything in very lofty poetical language and yet keeping close to mortal likeness. And the most striking instance of this is when he ventured to liken Agamemnon to the god in respect to the most distinctive features by saying,

His eye and lofty brow the counterpart
Of Zeus, the Lord of thunder.¹

But as to the product of my workmanship nobody, not even an insane person, would liken it to any mortal man soever, if it be carefully examined from the point of view of a god's beauty or stature; since, if I shall not be found to be a better and more temperate ² artificer than Homer, whom you thought godlike in his skill, I am willing to pay any fines you wish! But I am speaking with an eye to what is possible in my art. For an extravagant thing is poetry and in every respect resourceful and a law unto itself, and by the assistance of the tongue and a multitude of words is able all by itself to express all the devisings of the heart, and whatever conception it may arrive at concerning any shape or action or emotion or magnitude, it can never be at a loss,

² i.e., less given to exaggeration than Homer was in his description of Agamemnon; cf. 'extravagant,' § 67.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

ἢ μέγεθος, οὐκ ἀν ἀπορήσειεν, Ἀγγέλου φωνῆς
πάνυ ἐναργῶς σημαιωύσης ἔκαστα·

στρεπτὴ γὰρ γλῶσσ’ ἔστι βροτῶν, πολέες δ'
ἔνι μῦθοι,

φησὶν "Ομῆρος αὐτός,

παντοῖοι, ἐπέων δὲ πολὺς νομὸς ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα.

65 κινδυνεύει γὰρ οὖν τὸ ἀνθρώπινον γένος ἀπάντων
ἐνδεὲς γενέσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ φωνῆς καὶ λέξεως·
τούτου δὲ μόνου κέκτηται θαυμαστόν τινα πλοῦτον.
οὐδὲν γοῦν παραλέλοιπεν ἄφθεγκτον οὐδὲ ἀσημον
τῶν πρὸς αἰσθησιν ἀφικνουμένων, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς
ἐπιβάλλει τῷ νοηθέντι σαφῆ σφραγῖδα ὀνόματος,
πολλάκις δὲ καὶ πλείους φωνὰς ἔνὸς πράγματος,
ῶν δόπταν φθέγξηται τινα, παρέσχε δόξαν οὐ
πολὺ ἀσθενεστέραν τάληθοῦς. πλείστη μὲν οὖν
ἔξουσία καὶ δύναμις ἀνθρώπῳ περὶ λόγου ἐνδείξα-
66 σθαι τὸ παραστάν. ἡ δὲ τῶν ποιητῶν τέχνη μά-
λα αὐθάδης καὶ ἀνεπίληπτος, ἀλλως τε 'Ομῆρος,
τοῦ πλείστην ἄγοντος παρρησίαν, ὃς οὐχ ἔνα
εἴλετο χαρακτῆρα λέξεως, ἀλλὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλη-
νικὴν γλῶτταν διηρημένην τέως ἀνέμιξε, Δωριέων
τε καὶ Ἰώνων, ἕπι δὲ τὴν Ἀθηναίων, εἰς ταῦτὸ
κεράσας πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ χρώματα οἱ βαφεῖς,

¹ What Greek tragedy could not depict by action it could describe in detail through a Messenger.

THE TWELFTH, OR OLYMPIC, DISCOURSE

since the voice of a Messenger¹ can disclose with perfect clearness each and all these things. For, as Homer himself says,

For glib runs the tongue, and can at will
Give utterance to discourse in ev'ry vein;
Wide is the range of language; and such words
As one may speak, another may return.²

Indeed, the race of men is more likely to run short of everything else than of voice and speech; of this one thing it possesses a most astounding wealth. At any rate it has left unuttered and undesignated no single thing that reaches our sense perceptions, but straightway puts upon everything the mind perceives the unmistakable seal of a name, and often even several vocal signs for one thing, so that when man gives utterance to any one of them, they convey an impression not much less distinct than does the actual thing itself. Very great indeed is the ability and power of man to express in words any idea that comes into his mind. But the poets' art is exceedingly bold and not to be censured therefor; this was especially true of Homer, who practiced the greatest frankness and freedom of language; and he did not choose just one variety of diction, but mingled together every Hellenic dialect which before his time were separate—that of the Dorians and Ionians, and also that of the Athenians³—mixing them together much more thoroughly than dyers do their colours—and not

² Homer, *Iliad* 20. 248–249, translated by the Earl of Derby.

³ Compare Discourse 11. 23, where the Aeolic dialect also is mentioned. See also Aristotle's *Poetics* 1461 a.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

οὐ μόνον τῶν καθ' αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν πρότερον,
εἴ πού τι ρῆμα ἐκλελοιπός, καὶ τοῦτο ἀναλαβὼν
ώσπερ νόμισμα ἀρχαῖον ἐκ θησαυροῦ ποθεν
 67 ἀδεσπότου διὰ φιλορρηματίαν,¹ πολλὰ δὲ καὶ
βαρβάρων ὀνόματα, φειδόμενος οὐδενὸς ὃ τι
μόνον ἡδονὴν ἢ σφοδρότητα ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ ρῆμα
ἔχειν· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις μεταφέρων οὐ τὰ γειτνιῶντα
μόνον οὐδὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐγγύθεν, ἀλλὰ τὰ πλεῖστον
ἀπέχοντα, ὅπως κηλήσῃ τὸν ἀκροατὴν μετ'
ἐκπλήξεως καταγοητεύσας, καὶ οὐδὲ τινὰ κατὰ
χώραν ἔων, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν μηκύνων, τὰ δὲ συναιρῶν,
τὰ δὲ ἄλλως² παρατρέπων.

68 Τελευτῶν δὲ αὐτὸν ἀπέφιμεν οὐ μόνον μέτρων
ποιητὴν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ρημάτων, παρ' αὐτοῦ φθεγγό-
μενος, τὰ μὲν ἀπλῶς τιθέμενος ὀνόματα τοῖς
πράγμασι, τὰ δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς κυρίοις ἐπονομάζων,
οἶον σφραγῖδα σφραγῖδι ἐπιβάλλων ἐναργῆ καὶ
μᾶλλον εὔδηλον, οὐδενὸς φθόγγου ἀπεχόμενος,
ἀλλὰ ἐμβραχύ³ ποταμῶν τε μιμούμενος φωνὰς
καὶ ὕλης καὶ ἀνέμων καὶ πυρὸς καὶ θαλάττης,
ἔτι δὲ χαλκοῦ καὶ λίθου καὶ ξυμπάντων ἀπλῶς
ζώων καὶ ὄργανων, τοῦτο μὲν θηρίων, τοῦτο
δὲ ὀρνίθων, τοῦτο δὲ αὐλῶν τε καὶ συρίγγων·
καναχάς τε καὶ βόμβους καὶ κτύπον καὶ δοῦπον
καὶ ἄραβον πρῶτος ἐξευρών⁴ καὶ ὀνομάσας
ποταμούς τε μορμύροντας καὶ βέλη κλάζοντα καὶ
βοῶντα κύματα καὶ χαλεπαίνοντας ἀνέμους καὶ
ἄλλα τοιαῦτα δεινὰ καὶ ἄτοπα τῷ ὅντι θαύματα,
πολλὴν ἐμβάλλοντα τῇ γνώμῃ ταραχὴν καὶ

¹ φιλορρηματίαν Geel: φιλοχρηματίαν.

² Geel conjectures δλῶς for ἄλλως.

THE TWELFTH, OR OLYMPIC, DISCOURSE

only the languages of his own day but also those of former generations; if perchance there survived any expression of theirs taking up this ancient coinage, as it were, out of some ownerless treasure-store, because of his love of language; and he also used many barbarian words as well, sparing none that he believed to have in it anything of charm or of vividness. Furthermore, he drew not only from things which lie next door or near at hand, but also from those quite remote, in order that he might charm the hearer by bewitching and amazing him; and even these metaphors he did not leave as he first used them, but sometimes expanded and sometimes condensed them, or changing them in some other way.

" And, last of all, he showed himself not only a maker of verses but also of words, giving utterance to those of his own invention, in some cases by simply giving his own names to the things and in others adding his new ones to those current, putting, as it were, a bright and more expressive seal upon a seal. He avoided no sound, but in short imitated the voices of rivers and forests, of winds and fire and sea, and also of bronze and of stone, and, in short, of all animals and instruments without exception, whether of wild beasts or of birds or of pipes and reeds. He invented the terms 'clang' (*kanache*), 'boom' (*bombos*), 'crash' (*ktupos*), 'thud' (*doupos*), 'rattle' (*arabos*), and spoke of 'roaring rivers,' 'whizzing missiles,' 'thundering waves,' 'raging winds,' and other such terrifying and truly astonishing phenomena, thus filling the mind with great confusion and uproar. Consequently

³ ἔμβραχν Geel: ἐν βραχεῖ or ἐν βραχῷ.

⁴ ἔξευρων Venetian edition: ἔξεῦρεν.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

69 θόρυβοι¹ ὥστε οὐκ ἦν αὐτῷ ἀπορία φοβερῶν ὄνομάτων καὶ ἡδέων, ἔτι δὲ λείων καὶ τραχέων καὶ μυρίας ἄλλας ἔχοντων διαφορὰς ἐν τε τοῖς ἥχοις καὶ τοῖς διαιρούμασιν. ὑφ' ἣς ἐποποίας δυνατὸς ἦν ὅποιον ἐβούλετο ἐμποιῆσαι τῇ ψυχῇ πάθος.

Τὸ δὲ ἡμέτερον αὖ γένος, τὸ χειρουργικὸν καὶ δημιουργικόν, οὐδαμοῦ ἐφικνεῖται τῆς τοιαύτης ἐλευθερίας, ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν ὕλης πριτιδεόμεθα, ἀσφαλοῦς μὲν ὥστε διαμεῖναι, οὐ πολὺ δὲ ἔχυνσης κάματον ποριαθῆναι τε οὐ ρᾴδιας,
70 ἔτι δὲ οὐκ ὀλίγων συνεργῶν. πρὸς δὲ αὐτούτοις ἐν σχῆμα ἐκάστης εἰκόνος ἀνάγκη εἰργάσθαι,² καὶ τοῦτο ἀκίνητον καὶ μέρον, ὥστε τὴν πᾶσαν ἐν αὐτῷ τοῦ θεοῦ ξυλλαβεῖν φύσιν καὶ δύναμιν. τοῖς δὲ ποιηταῖς πολλάς τινας μορφὰς καὶ παντοδαπὰ εἴδη³ περιλαβεῖν τῇ ποιήσει ράδιον, κινήσεις τε καὶ ἡσυχίας προστιθέντας αὐτοῖς, ὅπως ἀν ἐκάστοτε πρέπειν ἥγιανται καὶ ἔργα καὶ λόγους, καὶ πρόσεστιν,⁴ οἷμαι, τὸ τῆς χαλεπότητος⁵ καὶ τὸ τοῦ χρόνου. μιᾷ γάρ ἐπινοίᾳ καὶ ὅρμῃ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐνεχθεὶς ὁ ποιητὴς πολύ τι πλῆθος ἐπῶν ἤρυσεν,⁶ ὥσπερ ἐκ πηγῆς

¹ φοβερῶν Reiske : φανερῶν.

² ἐργάσασθαι Wilamowitz.

³ παντοδαπὰ εἴδη Casaubon : παντοδαπὰς ἐπειδὴ ορ παντοδαπὰς.

⁴ πρόσεστι' Capps with P : προσέπτι.

⁵ χαλεπότητος Capps, cf. Plato *Critias*, 107 c : ἀπάτης.

⁶ ἐπῶν ἤρυσεν Selden : ἐπήρυσεν.

¹ It was easy to find hard marble whose grain was coarse so that it resisted the chisel and was liable to chip, but it was not

THE TWELFTH, OR OLYMPIC, DISCOURSE

he had no lack of fear-inspiring names for things and of pleasant ones, and also of smooth and rough ones, as well as of those which have countless other differences in both their sounds and their meanings. As a result of this epic art of his he was able to implant in the soul any emotion he wished.

"But our art, on the other hand, that which is dependent on the workman's hand and the artist's creative touch, by no means attains to such freedom; but first we need a material substance, a material so tough that it will last, yet can be worked without much difficulty and consequently not easy to procure;¹ we need, too, no small number of assistants. And then, in addition, the sculptor must have worked out for himself a design that shows each subject in one single posture, and that too a posture that admits of no movement and is unalterable, so perfected that it will comprise within itself the whole of the god's nature and power. But for the poets it is perfectly easy to include very many shapes and all sorts of attitudes in their poetry, adding movements and periods of rest to them according to what they consider fitting at any given time, and actions and spoken words, and they have, I imagine, an additional advantage in the matter of difficulty² and that of time. For the poet when moved by one single conception and one single impulse of his soul draws forth an immense volume of verses, as if from a gushing spring

so easy to find blocks of the fine-grained easily worked Pentelic marble that were not streaked or otherwise imperfect.

² Cf. Plato *Critias* 107 e: "For one must conceive of mortal objects as being difficult, and not easy, to represent satisfactorily"—οὐ γὰρ ὡς ἥδια τὰ θνητὰ ἀλλ' ὡς χαλεπὰ πρὸς δόξαν δύτα ἀπεικάζειν δεῖ διανοεῖσθαι.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

ῦδατος ὑπερβλύσαντος, πρὶν ἐπιλιπεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ διαρρυῆναι τὸ φάντασμα καὶ τὴν ἐπίνοιαν ἦν ἔλαβε. τὸ δέ γε ἡμέτερον τῆς τέχνης ἐπίπονον καὶ βραδύ, μόλις καὶ κατ'¹ ὀλίγον προβαῖνον, ἄτε, οἷμα, πετρώδει καὶ στερεῷ κάμινον ὥλη.

71 Τὸ δὲ πάντων χαλεπώτατον, ἀνάγκη παραμένειν τῷ δημιουργῷ τὴν εἰκόνα ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ τὴν αὐτὴν ἀεὶ, μέχρις ᾧ ἔκτελέσῃ τὸ ἔργον, πολλάκις καὶ πολλοῖς ἔτεσι. καὶ δὴ τὸ λεγόμενον, ὡς ἔστιν ἀκοῆς πιστότερα ὅμιλατα, ἀληθὲς ἵστως· πολύ γε μὴν δυσπειστότερα² καὶ πλείσιος δεόμενι ἐναργείας.³ ἡ μὲν γὰρ ὅφις αὐτοῖς τοῖς ὄρωμένοις συμβάλλει, τὴν δὲ ἀκοὴν οὐκ ἀδύνατον ἀναπτερᾶσαι καὶ παραλογίσασθαι, μιμήματα⁴ εἰσπέμποντα γεγοητευμένα μέτροις καὶ ἥχοις. καὶ μὴν τά γε ἡμέτερα τῆς τέχνης ἀναγκαῖα μέτρα πλήθους τε πέρι καὶ μεγέθους· τοῖς δὲ ποιηταῖς ἔξεστι καὶ ταῦτα ἐφ' ὅποσονοῦν αὐξῆσαι. τοιγαροῦν Ὁμήρω μὲν ράδιον ἐγένετο εἰπεῖν τὸ μέγεθος τῆς Ἐριδοῦ, ὅτι

72 οὐρανῷ ἐστήριξε κάρη καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ βαίνει· ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀγαπητὸν δήπουθεν πληρῶσαι τὸν ὑπὸ Ἡλείων ἢ Ἀθηναίων ἀποδειχθέντα τόπον.

73 Σὺ μὲν οὖν φήσεις, ὡς σοφώτατε τῶν ποιητῶν Ὁμηρε, πολὺ τῇ τε δυνάμει τῆς ποιήσεως καὶ

¹ κατ' added by Reiske.

² δυσπειστότερα Jacobs: δυσπιστότερα.

³ ἐναργεῖας Reiske: ἐνεργεῖας.

⁴ μιμήματα Wilamowitz: μὴ ρήματα.

¹ Compare Cicero, *Orator* 2. 8, where in speaking of Phedias he says: "In his mind resided a most splendid concept of

THE TWELFTH, OR OLYMPIC, DISCOURSE

of water, before the vision and the conception he had grasped can leave him and flow away. But of our art the execution is laborious and slow, advancing with difficulty a step at a time, the reason being, no doubt, that it must work with a rock-like and hard material.

" But the most difficult thing of all is that the sculptor must keep the very same image in his mind continuously until he finishes his work, which often takes many years.¹ Indeed, the popular saying that the eyes are more trustworthy than the ears² is perhaps true, yet they are much harder to convince and demand much greater clearness ; for while the eye agrees exactly with what it sees, it is not impossible to excite and cheat the ear by filling it with representations under the spell of metre and sound.³ Then again, while the measures of our art are enforced upon us by considerations of numbers and magnitude, the poets have the power to increase even these elements to any extent. For this reason it was easy enough for Homer to give the size of Eris by saying,

- With humble crest at first, anon her head,
- While yet she treads the earth, affronts the skies.⁴

But I must be content, I suppose, merely to fill up the space designated by Eleans or Athenians.

" Thou certainly wilt agree, O Homer, wisest of poets, who both in the power of thy poetry and in beauty, which beholding and keeping his mind fixed on it, he directed his art and hand in harmony with its likeness :" Ipsius in mente insidebat species pulchritudinis eximia quaedam, quam intuens in eaque defixus ad illius similitudinem artem et manum dirigebat.

¹ Herodotus 1. 8. ³ See p. 51, note 6 and § 79.

⁴ Homer, *Iliad* 4. 443, translated by the Earl of Derby.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

τῷ χρόνῳ προέχων, σχεδὸν πρῶτος ἐπιδείξας¹ τοῖς Ἑλλησι τῶν τε ἄλλων ἀπάντων θεῶν καὶ δὴ τοῦ μεγίστου θεῶν πολλὰς καὶ καλὰς εἰκόνας, τὰς μὲν τινας ἡμέρους, τὰς δὲ φοβερὰς καὶ δεινάς.

74 ὁ δὲ ἡμέτερος εἰρηνικὸς καὶ πανταχοῦ πρᾶος, οἶος ἀστασιάστου καὶ ὅμοιοούσης τῆς Ἐλλάδος ἐπίσκοπος· ὃν ἔγῳ μετὰ τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ τέχνης καὶ τῆς Ἡλείων πόλεως σοφῆς καὶ ἀγαθῆς βουλευτά- μενος ἰδρυσάμην, τῆμερον καὶ σεμινὸν ἐν ἀλύπᾳ σχήματι, τὸν² βίον καὶ ζωῆς καὶ ξυμπάντων Δοτῆρα τῶν ἀγαθῶν, κοινὸν ἀνθρώπων καὶ Πατέρα καὶ Σωτῆρα καὶ Φύλακα, ὡς δυνατὸν ἥν θητῷ διανοηθέντι μιμήσασθαι τὴν θείαν καὶ αἱμήχανον φύσιν.

75 Σκόπει δέ, εἰ μὴ πάσαις ταῖς ἐπωνυμίαις ταῖς τοῦ θεοῦ πρέπουσαν εὐρήσεις τὴν εἰκόνα· Ζεὺς γάρ μόνος θεῶν Πατήρ καὶ Βασιλεὺς ἐπονομάζεται, Πολιεὺς τε καὶ Φίλιος καὶ Ἐταιρεῖος, πρὸς δὲ αὖ τούτοις³ Ἰκέσιός τε καὶ Ξένιος καὶ Ἐπικάρπιος καὶ μυρίας ἄλλας ἐπικλήσεις ἔχων πάσας ἀγαθάς, Βασιλεὺς μὲν κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ δύναμιν ὀνο- μασμένος, Πατήρ, δέ οἷμαι, διά τε τὴν⁴ κηδεμονίαν καὶ τὸ πρᾶον, Πολιεὺς δὲ κατὰ τὸν νόμον καὶ τὸ κοινὸν ὄφελος, Ὁμόγνιος δὲ διὰ τὴν τοῦ γένους 76 κοινωνίαν θεοῖς καὶ ἀνθρώποις, Φίλιος δὲ καὶ Ἐταιρεῖος, ὅτι πάντας ἀνθρώποις ξυνάγει καὶ

¹ ἐπιδείξας Rouse, ἐπιδείξαι Geel: ἐπέδειξα or ἐπέδειξα.

² τὸν Imperius: τοῦ or καὶ.

³ αὖ τούτοις Imperius: αὖ τοῖς or αὐτοῖς.

⁴ τὴν added by Geel.

¹. See for example, *Iliad* 2. 350-354.

THE TWELFTH, OR OLYMPIC, DISCOURSE

time dōst by far excel and wast practically the first to show the Hellenes many beautiful images of all the gods, and especially of the greatest among them, some images mild but others fear-inspiring and dread.¹ But our god is peaceful and altogether gentle, such as befits the guardian of a faction-free and concordant Hellas ; and this I, with the aid of my art and of the counsel of the wise and good city of the Eleans have set up—a mild and majestic god in pleasing guise, the Giver of our material and our physical life and of all our blessings, the common Father and Saviour and Guardian of mankind, in so far as it was possible for a mortal man to frame in his mind and to represent the divine and inimitable nature.

“ And consider whether you will not find that the statue is in keeping with all the titles by which Zeus is known. For he alone of the gods is entitled ‘ Father and King,’ ‘ Protector of Cities,’ ‘ God of Friendship,’ and ‘ God of Comradeship,’ and also ‘ Protector of Suppliants,’ and ‘ God of Hospitality,’ ‘ Giver of Increase,’² and has countless other titles, all indicative of goodness : he is addressed as ‘ King,’ because of his dominion and power ; as ‘ Father,’ I think, on account of his solicitude for us and his kindness : as ‘ Protector of Cities’ in that he upholds the law and the common weal ; as ‘ Guardian of the Race’ on account of the tie of kinship which unites gods and men ; as ‘ God of Friendship’ and ‘ God of Comradeship ’ because he brings all men together

¹ These titles of Zeus with the reasons for them are found in Aristotle, *de Mondo* 401 b, where we also read Ζεὺς κεφαλή, Ζεὺς μέσσα, Διὸς δ' ἐκ πάντα τέτυκται—“ Zeus is head, Zeus is middle, by Zeus all things have been made.” Compare Plato, *Laws* 4. 715 e, and Dio, Discourse I. 39-40.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

βούλεται φίλους εἶναι ἀλλήλοις, ἔχθρὸν δὲ οὐ πολέμιον οὐδένα οὐδενός, Ἰκέσιος δέ, ὡς ἂν ἐπήκοος τε καὶ ἔλεως τοῖς δεομένοις, Φύξιος δὲ διὰ τὴν τῶν κακῶν ἀπόφυξιν, Ξένιος δέ, ὅτι δεῦ μηδὲ τῶν ξένων ἀμελεῖν μηδὲ ἀλλότριον ἥγεῖσθαι ἀνθρώπων μηδένα, Κτήσιος δὲ καὶ Ἐπικάρπιος, ἄτε τῶν καρπῶν αἴτιος καὶ δοτὴρ πλούτου καὶ δυνάμεως.

77 "Οσον δὲ¹ ἦν ἐπιδεῖξαι ταῦτα μὴ φίεγγόμενον, ἀρα οὐχ ἵκανῶς ἔχει κατὰ τὴν τέχνην; τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἀρχὴν καὶ τὸν βασιλέα βούλεται δηλοῦν τὸ ἴσχυρὸν τοῦ εἰδούς καὶ τὸ μεγαλοπρεπές· τὸν δὲ πατέρα καὶ τὴν κτηδεμονίαν τὸ πρᾶον καὶ προσφιλέσ· τὸν δὲ Πολιέα καὶ Νόμιμον ἣ τε σεμνότης καὶ τὸ αὐστηρόν· τὴν δὲ ἀνθρώπων καὶ θεῶν ξυγγένειαν αὐτό που τὸ τῆς μορφῆς ὅμοιον ὃν ἥδη σύμβολον.² τὸν δὲ Φίλιον καὶ Ἰκέσιον καὶ Ξένιον καὶ Φύξιον καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀπλῶς ἥ³ φιλανθρωπία καὶ τὸ πρᾶον καὶ τὸ χρηστὸν ἐμφαινόμενον. προσομοιοῦ δὲ τὸν Κτήσιον καὶ τὸν Ἐπικάρπιον ἣ τε ἀπλότης καὶ ἡ μεγαλοφροσύνη, δηλουμένη διὰ τῆς μορφῆς· ἀτεχνῶς γὰρ διδόντι καὶ χαριζομένῳ μάλιστα προσέοικε τάγαθά.

78 Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὡς οἶόν τε ἦν ἐμιμησάμην, ἄτε οὐκ ἔχων ὀνομάσαι. συνεχῶς δὲ ἀστραπτοντα ἐπὶ πολέμῳ καὶ φθορᾷ πλήθους ἥ ἔπ'⁴ ὅμβρων

¹ ὅσον Cohoon, δτον δὲ Reiske: ὅσον δὲ ορ ὡς οὐδὲν.

² ὃν ἥδη σύμβολον Capps, αἰνίττεται διὰ συμβόλου conjectured by Arnim: ἐν εἴδει συμβόλου.

³ ἥ added by Jacobs.

⁴ ἔπ' added by Capps.

THE TWELFTH, OR OLYMPIC, DISCOURSE

and wills that they be friends of one another and never enemy or foe; as 'Protector of Suppliants' since he inclines his ear and is gracious to men when they pray; as 'God of Refuge' because he gives refuge from evils; as 'God of Hospitality' because we should not be unmindful even of strangers, nor regard any human being as an alien; as 'Giver of Wealth and Increase' since he is the cause of all crops and is the giver of wealth and power.

"And so far as it was possible to reveal these attributes without the help of words, is the god not adequately represented from the point of view of art? For his sovereignty and kingship are intended to be shown by the strength in the image and its grandeur; his fatherhood and his solicitude by its gentleness and kindness; the 'Protector of Cities' and 'Upholder of the Law' by its majesty and severity; the kinship between gods and men, I presume, by the mere similarity in shape, being already in use as a symbol;¹ the 'God of Friends, Suppliants, Strangers, Refugees,' and all such qualities in short, by the benevolence and gentleness and goodness appearing in his countenance. The 'God of Wealth' and the 'Giver of Increase' are represented by the simplicity and grandeur shown by the figure, for the god does in very truth seem like one who is giving and bestowing blessings.

"As for these attributes, then, I have represented them in so far as it was possible to do so, since I was not able to name them. But the god who continually sends the lightning's flash, portending war and the destruction of many or a mighty down-

¹ As explained *supra*, § 56.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

ὑπερβολῇ¹ ἡ χαλάζης ἡ χιόνος, ἡ ταινόντα κυανῆν
 Ἱριν, τοῦ πολέμου ξύμβολον, ἡ ἀστέρα πέμποντα
 ξυνεχεῖς σπινθῆρας ἀποβάλλοντα, δεινὸν τέρας
 ναύταις ἡ στρατιώταις² ἡ³ ἐπιπέμποντα ἔριν ἀργα-
 λέαν "Ελλησι καὶ βαρβάροις, ὥστε⁴ ἔρωτι ἐμβάλ-
 λειν⁵ πολέμου καὶ μάχης ἄπαυστον κάμινουσιν
 ἀνθρώποις καὶ ἀπειρηκόσιν· οὐδέ γε ἴστάντα
 ἐπὶ πλάστιγγος ἀνθρώπων ἡμιθέων κῆρας ἡ στρατο-
 πέδων ὅλων, αὐτομάτῳ ροπῇ κρινομένας· οὐκ
 ἦν διὰ τῆς τέχνης μιμεῖσθαι· οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ πιρὸν
 70 ηθέλησά γ' ἄν ποτε. βροντῆς γὰρ εἴδωλον
 ἄφθογγον ἡ ἀστραπῆς ἡ κεραυνοῦ εἴκασμα
 ἀλαμπὲς ἐκ τῶν τῆδε γ' ὑπογείων⁶ μεταλλευμάτων
 ποῖον ἄν τι καὶ γένοιτο; ἔτι δὲ γῆν σειομένην καὶ
 κινούμενον "Ολυμπον ὑπὸ νεύματι βραχεῖ τῶν
 ὁφρύων ἡ τυνα νέφους περὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ στέφανον

¹ ὑπερβολῇ PY, ὑπερβολὴν other MSS.

² στρατιώταις Geel: στρατιώτῃ. ³ ἡ added by Geel.

⁴ ὥστε added by Arnim ⁵ ἐμβάλλειν Arnim: ἐμβάλλει.

⁶ γ' ὑπογείων Capps, cf. Hdt. 4. 200: ἐπιγείων.

¹ See *Iliad* 10. 5-8: "Even as when the lord of fair-tressed Hera lightens, fashioning either heavy rain unspeakable or hail or snow, when the flakes sprinkle the fields, or fashioning perhaps the wide mouth of bitter war:"

ώς δ' ὅτε² ἄν ἀστράπη πόσις "Ἔρης ἡγκόμοιο,
 τεύχων ἡ πολὺν ὅμβρον ἀθέσφατον ἡ χαλαζαν
 ἡ νιφετόν, ὅτε πέρ τε χιῶν ἐπάλυνεν ἀρούρας,
 ἡ ποθι πτολέμοιο μέγα στόμα πευκεδανοῖ.

² Compare *Iliad* 17. 547-549: "Like as Zeus spreadeth the bright rainbow from heaven for mortals to be a portent either of war or else of unkindly winter."

ἡύτε πορφυρέην Ἱριν θητοῖσι τανύσσοι
 Ζεὺς ἐξ οὐρανόθεν, τέρας ἐμμεναι ἡ πόλεμοιο
 ἡ καὶ χειμῶνος δυσθαλπέος, κ.τ.λ.

THE TWELFTH, OR OLYMPIC, DISCOURSE

pour of rain, or of hail or of snow,¹ or who stretches the dark blue rainbow across the sky, the symbol of war,² or who sends a shooting star, which hurls forth a stream of sparks, a dread portent to sailors or soldiers,³ or who sends grievous strife upon Greeks and barbarians so as to inspire tired and despairing men with unceasing love for war and battle,⁴ and the god who weighed in the balance the fates of god-like men or of whole armies to be decided by its spontaneous inclination⁵—that god, I say, it was not possible to represent by my art; nor assuredly should I ever have desired to do so even had it been possible. For of thunder what sort of soundless image, or of lightning and of the thunderbolt what kind of a likeness without the lightning's flash⁶ could by any possibility be made from the metals taken from the subterranean workings of this land at least?⁷ Then when the earth was shaken and Olympus was moved by a slight inclination of the eyebrows, or a crown of cloud was about his head, it was easy enough for

¹ Compare *Iliad* 4. 75–77: “Just as the son of Cronos of crooked counsel hath sent a star, a bright portent either for sailors or for a broad host of the people; and many sparks stream from it”—

ολον δ' ἀστέρα ἥκε Κρόνου πάις ἀγκυλομήτεω,
ἢ ναύτησι τέρας ἡὲ στρατῷ εὐρέι λαῶν,
λαμπρόν· τοῦ δέ τε πολλοὶ ἀπὸ σπινθῆρες ἰενται.

² See *Iliad* 11. 3: “And Zeus sent forth grievous strife to the ships of the Achaeans, holding a portent of war in her hands”—

Ζεὺς δ' Ἐρίδα προῖαλλε θοὰς ἐπὶ νῆσος Ἀχαιῶν
ἀργαλέην, πολέμοιο τέρας μετὰ χερσὶν ἔχουσαν.

³ See *Iliad* 22. 210–213.

⁴ See *Iliad* 8. 69–71.

⁵ Referring to the silver mines at Laurium.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

Ομήρω μὲν εἰπεῖν εὐμαρὲς καὶ πολλὴ πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα ἅπαντα ἐλευθερία, τῇ δέ γε ἡμετέρᾳ τέχνῃ παντελῶς ἅπορον, ἐγγύθεν παρεχούσῃ¹ καὶ σαφῆ τὸν ἔλεγχον τῆς ὄψεως.

80 Εἰ δ' αὖ τὸ τῆς ὑλῆς ἀσημότερον ἥγεῖται τις ἡ κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν τοῦ θεοῦ, τοῦτο μὲν ἀληθές τε καὶ ὀρθόν· ἀλλ' οὔτε τοὺς δόντας οὔτε² τὸν ἐλόμενον καὶ δοκιμάσαντα ἐν δίκῃ μέριφοιτ³ ἄν. οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἔτέρα φύσις ἀμεώνων οὐδὲ λαμπροτέρα πρὸς ὄψιν, ἦν δυνατὸν εἰς χεῖρας ἀνθρώπων 81 ἀφικέσθαι καὶ μεταλαβεῖν δημιουργίας. ἀέρα γε⁴ καὶ πῦρ ἐργάσασθαι ἡ τὴν ἀφθονον πηγὴν ὕδατος ἔνεστι⁵ τίσι θυητῶν⁶ ὄργανοις; ὅσον δ'⁷ ἐν ἅπασι τούτοις στερεὸν ἔρμα⁸ εἰρκται.⁹ λέγω δὲ οὐ χρυσοῦ καὶ λίθου, ταῦτα μὲν γὰρ σμικρὰ καὶ φαῦλα, ἀλλὰ τὴν πᾶσαν ἴσχυρὰν καὶ βαρεῖαν οὐσίαν. Ἰδέαν γε ἔκάστην¹⁰ διακρίνοντα καὶ ἐμπλέκοντα εἰς ταῦτὸ ἔκαστον συστῆσαι¹¹ γένος καὶ ζώων καὶ φυτῶν, οὐδὲ θεοῖς πᾶσι δυνατὸν ἀλλ' ¹² ἡ μόνω

¹ παρεχούσῃ Capps: ἔχονσῃ.

² οὔτε Dindorf: οὐδὲ.

³ γε Capps: τε καὶ.

⁴ ἔνεστι Capps: ἐν.

⁵ θυητῶν Capps: θυητοῖς.

⁶ δ' Capps: τε.

⁷ ἔρμα Morel: ἔργμα.

⁸ εἰρκται added by Capps.

⁹ Ιδέαν γε ἔκάστην Capps: Ιδίᾳ τε ἔκαστον.

¹⁰ ἔκαστον συστῆσαι added by Capps as giving the required sense.

¹¹ ἀλλ' added by Capps.

THE TWELFTH, OR OLYMPIC, DISCOURSE

Homer to describe them, and great was the freedom he enjoyed for all such things; but for our art it is absolutely impossible, for it permits the observer to test it with his eyes from close at hand and in full view.¹

" But if, again, anyone thinks that the material used is too lacking in distinction to be in keeping with the god, his belief is true and correct. But neither those who furnished it, nor the man who selected and approved it, has he any right to criticize. For there was no other substance better or more radiant to the sight that could have come into the hands of man and have received artistic treatment. To work up air, at any rate, or fire, or 'the copious source of water,'² what tools possessed by mortal men can do that? These can work upon nothing but whatever hard residuary substance is held bound within all these elements.³ I do not mean gold or silver, for these are trivial and worthless things, but the essential substance, tough all through and heavy; and to select each kind of material and entwining them together to compose every species, both of animals and of plants—this is a thing which is impossible for even the gods, all except this God alone, one may almost say, whom

¹ See Pliny, *Natural History* 35. 96: "Apelles also painted things that cannot be painted; claps of thunder, heat lightning, flashing lightning, which they (the Greeks) call *brontē, astrape, and ceraunobolia*"—Pinxit (Apelles) et quae pingi non possunt, tonitrua, fulgetra, fulgura, quae bronten, astrapon, ceraunoboliam appellant.

² That is, the ocean, 14. 246. The phrase seems to be taken from a lyric poet.

³ Euripides, *Helen*, 854 for the phrase ἐρμα στερεόν.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

τούτῳ σχεδὸν ὃν πάιν καλῶς ποιητὴς προσέπιεν
ἔτερος,

Δωδωναῖε μεγασθειὲς ἀριστοτέχνα πάτερ.

82 οὗτος γὰρ δὴ πρῶτος καὶ τελειότατος δημιουργός,
χορηγὸν λαβὼν τῆς αὐτοῦ τέχνης οὐ τὴν Ἰλείων
πόλιν, ἀλλὰ τὴν πᾶσαν τοῦ παιτὸς ὕλην. Φειδίαν
δὲ ἡ Πολύκλειτον οὐκ ἄν εἰκότως ἀπαιτοῦτε
πλέον οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῦτα μεῖζω καὶ σεμνό-
τερα τῆς ἡμετέρας χειρωναξίας. οὐδὲ γὰρ τὸν
83 Ἡφαιστον "Ομηρος ἐν ἄλλοις πεπιάκεν ἐπιδεικ-
νύμενον τὴν ἔμπειρίαν, ἀλλὰ τεχνίτην μὲν θεὸν
εὐπόρησεν ἐπὶ τὸ τῆς ἀσπίδος ἔργον, ὕλην δὲ
ἔτεραν οὐκ ἐφίκετο εὑρεῖν. φησὶ γὰρ οὕτω.

χαλκὸν δ' ἐν πυρὶ βάλλειν ἀτειρέει κασσίτερόν τε
καὶ χρυσὸν τιμῆντα καὶ ἄργυρον.

ἀνθρώπων μὲν οὖν ἔγωγε οὐδενὶ παραχωρήσαιμ²
ἄν¹ κρείττονα ἐμοῦ ποτε γενέσθαι περὶ τὴν
τέχνην, αὐτῷ δὲ τῷ Διὶ, δημιουργοῦντι τὸν ἅπαντα
κόσμον οὐ χρὴ ξυμβάλλειν οὐδένα θυητόν.

84 Ταῦτ' οὖν εἰπόντα καὶ ἀπολογησάμενον τὸν
Φειδίαν εἰκότως ἐμοὶ δοκοῦσιν οἱ "Ελληνες στε-
φανῶσαι ἄν.

"Ισως δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς λέληθεν ὁ λόγος ὑπὲρ
ῶν γέγονε, καὶ μάλα, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, φιλοσόφοις
τε ἀρμόττων καὶ πλήθει ἀκοῦσαι, περὶ τε ἀγαλ-
μάτων ἴδρυσεως, ὅπως δεῖ ἴδρυσθαι, καὶ περὶ

¹ παραχωρήσαιμ² ἄν Pflugk : παραχωρήσαιμι.

¹ Pindar frg. 57 (Bergk).

THE TWELFTH, OR OLYMPIC, DISCOURSE

another poet¹ quite beautifully has addressed as follows :

Lord of Dodona,² father almighty, consummate artist.

For he is indeed the first and most perfect artificer, who has taken as his coadjutor in his art, not the city of Elis, but the entire material of the entire universe. But of a Pheidias or of a Polyclitus you could not reasonably demand more than they have done ; nay, even what they essayed is too great and august for our handiwork. Indeed, not even Hephaestus did Homer represent as showing his skill in other materials, but while he furnished a god as the craftsman for the making of the shield, he did not succeed in finding any different sort of material for it. For he speaks as follows :

The stubborn brass, and tin, and precious gold,
And silver, first he melted in the fire ;³

nay, I will not concede to any man that there ever has been a better sculptor than I, but to Zeus, who fashioned the whole universe, it is not right to compare any mortal."

So if Pheidias had said these things in his defence, I believe that the assembled Hellenes would have been justified in conferring a crown upon him.

But perhaps the majority of my hearers have failed to notice the several topics of my address, although, in my opinion, it has been quite as suitable for the multitude as for the philosophers to hear. It has dealt with the dedication of statues, how it should

² Dodona, situated in Epirus. Most ancient oracle of Greece and dedicated to Zeus.

³ Homer, *Iliad* 18. 474-475, translated by the Earl of Derby.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

ποιητῶν, ὅπως ἄμεινον ἢ χεῖρον διανοοῦνται περὶ τῶν θείων, ἔτι δὲ περὶ τῆς¹ πρώτης ἐπινοίας θεοῦ, ποία τις καὶ τίνα τρόπου ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐγένετο. πολλὰ δέ, οἶμαι, καὶ περὶ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐρρήθη τοῦ Διὸς καὶ τῆς² ἐπωνυμίας. εἰ δὲ μετ' εὐφημίας τοῦ τε ἀγάλματος καὶ τῶν 85 ἰδρυσαμένων, πολὺ ἄμεινον. τῷ γὰρ ὅντι τοιούτος ἡμῶν προσορᾶν ἔοικε, πάνυ εὔγους καὶ κηδόμενος, ὥστ' ἔμοιγε μικροῦ φθέγγεσθαι δοκεῖ.

Τάδε μὲν οὕτως, Ἡλεῖοί τε³ καὶ σύμπασι τῇ Ελλάσῃ, καλῶς καὶ προσηκόντως ἐπιτελεῖς,⁴ θυσίαί τε θύουσα ἐκ τῶν παρόντων μεγαλοπρεπεῖς καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸν εὐκλεέστατον ἀγῶνα τιθεῖσα ὡς⁵ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς εὐεξίας καὶ ρώμης καὶ τάχους, ὅτα τε ἐόρτῶν καὶ μυστηρίων ἔθη λαβούσα διαφυλάττεις. ἀλλὰ ἐκεῦνο φροντίζων σκοπῷ, ὅτι

αὐτήν σ'⁶ οὐκ ἀγαθὴ κομιδὴ ἔχει, ἀλλ' ἄμα γῆρας λυγρὸν ἔχεις αὐχμεῖς τε κακῶς καὶ ἀεικέα ἔσσαι.

¹ τῆς Reiske: τε. ² καὶ τῆς Cappri: κατὰ τὰς.

³ τε Capps: δὲ. Arnim reads ὡς σύμπασι, deleting Ἡλεῖοί δὲ καὶ.

⁴ ἐπιτελεῖς Arnim: ἐπιτελεῖ.

⁵ ὡς added by Wilamowitz.

⁶ σ' MSS. of *Odyssey*: γε.

THE TWELFTH, OR OLYMPIC, DISCOURSE

best be done, and with the poets, as to whether their conceptions of the gods are better or inferior, and also with the first conception of God, what it was and how it came into existence among men. And much too, I believe, was said about the power of Zeus and about his titles. If this was accompanied by a eulogy of the statue and of those who dedicated it, so much the better. For in reality the god now seems to us to have such an expression, altogether benevolent and solicitous, that I at least can almost fancy that he is speaking like this:

“ All this rite, you Eleans and all Hellas, you are carrying out, as one may see, very beautifully and fittingly, by offering sacrifices of a magnificence in keeping with your means, and, above all, by holding as from the beginning this most renowned contest of physical condition, strength, and speed, and lastly, because you are preserving in regard to festive occasions and secret rites all the customs which you have inherited. But with deep concern I observe that

 Yourself untended seem, and wretched age
 With mean attire and squalor is your lot.”¹

¹ Homer, *Odyssey* 24. 249–250, translated by Mackail.

THE THIRTEENTH DISCOURSE: IN ATHENS, ABOUT HIS BAN- ISHMENT

In the year A.D. 82, probably, Dio was banished by the Emperor Domitian, not only from Rome and Italy but also from his native Bithynia, on the charge of being in some way implicated in the conspiracy of one of the Emperor's relatives, Junius Rusticus, as some including Mommsen maintain, Flavius Sabinus as von Arnim with better reason believes. Each of these men was related to the Emperor, Flavius Sabinus being the husband of Julia, ^{the daughter of Domitian's} older brother Titus, who had been ^{Emperor for two years}; and each of them was executed on the charge of having conspired against him. If it is Flavius Sabinus to whom Dio refers, then since this man was executed in the year A.D. 82, we may infer that Dio's banishment began in this year, and it was intended to last his lifetime. However, with the accession of Nerva in A.D. 96 he was permitted to return.

In the Thirteenth Discourse Dio gives us an interesting glimpse into his ^{attitude and behavior at} that time. Adopting the attitude of ^a ^{man}, he ^{endeavored to} endure his banishment manfully and found that it was quite durable. Then he tells how at the urgent request of others he began to deliver moral addresses to groups of people gathered to hear him. In these addresses Dio did not attempt to give his own ideas, ^{but} ^{as far as possible} those of a certain Socrates.

In a comparison of Socrates' teaching given in sections 14-28 Johann Wegemann (*De Dione Xenophontis Sectatore*, p. 56 ff.) tries to show is taken from the *Cleitophon*, falsely ascribed to Plato, Ferdinand Dümmler (*Academica*, p. 1-17) that the *Archelaus* of Antisthenes is the common source of both, and Von Arnim (*Leben und Werke des Dio von Prusa*) claims that one of the four hortatory addresses (*προτρηπτικοί*) of Antisthenes is the common source.

The Thirteenth Discourse in the form in which we have it breaks off suddenly, giving the impression that the end of it has been lost.

13. ΕΝ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΣ ΠΕΡΙ ΦΥΓΗΣ

1 "Οτε φεύγειν συνέβη με φιλίας ἔνεκεν λεγομένης
ἀνδρὸς οὐ πονηροῦ, τῶν δὲ τότε εὐδαιμόνων τε
καὶ ἀρχόντων ἐγγύτατα ὅντος, διὰ τιῦτα δὲ καὶ
ἀποθανόντος, δι' ἂ πολλοῖς καὶ σχεδὸν πᾶσιν
ἔδόκει μακάριος, διὰ τὴν ἐκείνων οἰκειότητα καὶ
ξυγγένειαν, ταύτης ἐνεχθείσης ἐπ' ἐμὲ τῆς αὐτίας,
ώς δὴ τάνδρὶ φίλον ὅντα καὶ σύμβουλον· ἔθος
γάρ τι τοῦτο ἔστι τῶν τυράννων, ὥσπερ ἐν Σικύθαις
τοῖς βασιλεῦσι συνθάπτειν οἰνοχόους καὶ μαγεί-
ρους καὶ παλλακάς, οὕτως τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀποθηγ-
σκουσιν ἔτέρους προστιθέναι πλείους ἀπ' οὐδεμιᾶς
2 αὐτίας· τότε δ' οὖν, ἐπεί με φεύγειν ἔδοξεν,
ἐσκόπουν πότερον ὅντως χαλεπόν τι καὶ δυστυχὲς
εἴη τὸ τῆς φυγῆς ως¹ κατὰ τὴν τῶν πολλῶν δόξαν,
ἢ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα ἔτερόν τι² πέπονθεν, διόποιν
λεγόμενόν ἔστι περὶ τὴν μαντείαν τὴν τῶν γυναικῶν
ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροῖς. ἐκεῖναι γὰρ βῶλόν³ τινα ἢ λίθον
αἱρουσαι σκοποῦσιν ἐν τούτῳ περὶ τοῦ πράγματος
οὐ πυνθάνονται. καὶ δὴ ταῖς μὲν αὐτῶν φασι

¹ ως added by Cohoon.

² τι added by Capps.

³ βῶλόν Valesius: βωμόν.

THE THIRTEENTH DISCOURSE: IN ATHENS, ABOUT HIS BANISHMENT

WHEN it fell to my lot to be exiled on account of my reputed friendship with a man¹ of good character and very closely connected with those who at that time were Fortune's favourites and indeed high officials, a man who lost his life on account of the very things which made him seem fortunate to many men, and indeed to practically everyone, I mean his connection by marriage and blood with these officials; the charge brought against me being that I was that man's friend and adviser—for just as among the Scythians it is the practice to bury cupbearers and cooks and concubines with their kings, so it is the custom of despots to throw in several others for no reason whatever with those who are being executed by them—so, at the time when my banishment was decreed, I began to consider whether this matter of banishment was really a grievous thing and a misfortune, as it is in the view of the majority, or whether such experiences merely furnish another instance of what we are told happens in connection with the divinations of the women in the sacred places. For they pick up a chance clod of earth or a stone, and try to see in it the answer to their enquiry. And, so the story goes, some find their clod light, while

¹ Probably T. Flavius Sabinus, executed by Domitian. Cf. Suetonius, *Life of Domitian* 10. 22; Philostratus, *Apollonius of Tyana* 7. 7. But cf. Introduction, vol. I., p. viii.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

γίγνεσθαι κοῦφον, ταῖς δὲ βαρύν, ὡς μηδὲ κινῆσαι δύνασθαι ῥᾳδίως.

- 3 Μὴ ἄρα καὶ τὸ φεύγειν καὶ τὸ πέγεσθαι καὶ γῆρας δὴ καὶ νόσος καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα τοῖς μὲν βαρέα φαίνεται καὶ χαλεπά, τοῖς δὲ ἐλαφρά τε καὶ εὔκολα· ἔκεī μὲν ἵσως κατὰ τὴν τοῦ πράγματος διαφορὰν ἐλαφρίτων τοῦ διαιρουμένου τὸ βάρος, ἐνταῦθα δέ, οἶκαι, πρὸς τὴν τοῦ χρωμάτου δύναμιν καὶ γνώμην.
- 4 Καὶ δὴ ἀνεμιμηροσκόμην [’](δυσσπέως τε παρ’ ‘Ομήρως κατοδυρομένου πολλάκις αὐτόν, ἀγδρὸς ἥρως οὐδαμῶς τε ἀδυνάτου καρτερεῖν, πολλὰ ὅμως ἀνάξια λέγοντος καὶ θρηνοῦντος ἐκάστοτε παρὰ τῇ θαλάττῃ διὰ πόθου τῆς πατρίδος· τέλος δέ, ὡς φησιν ὁ ποιητής, ἐπεθύμει καπνὸν ἵδεν ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτοῦ γῆς ἀνιόντα, εἰ καὶ δέοι πιραχρῆμα ἀποθνήσκειν, καὶ οὕτε τὰ πρότερον ἔργα παρεμυθεῖτο αὐτὸν οὕτε θεὸς μάλα καλὴ καὶ ἀγαθὴ περὶ πολλοῦ ποιουμένη, ὥστε ὑποσχέσθαι ποιήσειν αὐτὸν ἀθάνατον, ἀλλὰ πάντων τούτων κατίσχυεν
- 5 ὁ τῆς πατρίδος πόθος τε καὶ ἔρως. πάλιν δὲ αὖ παρ’ ἐτέρῳ ποιητῇ τῶν ὕστερον τὴν Ἡλέκτραν πυνθανομένην ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ λυπηρῶς καὶ ἐλεούσαν αὐτὸν τῆς φυγῆς, οὕτω πως ἐρωτῶσαν·

ποῦ γῆς ὁ τλήμων τλήμονας φυγὰς ἔχει;
καὶ τὸν οὐχ ἥττον ἐλεεινῶς ἀποκρινόμενον,¹
οὐχ ἔνα νομίζων φθείρεται πόλεως τόπον.²

¹ ἀποκρινόμενον *Emperius*: ἀποκρινάμενον.

² νόμον in the MSS. of Euripides.

THIRTEENTH DISCOURSE : IN ATHENS

others find theirs so heavy that they are not able even to move it easily.

" May not exile after all," I thought, " and poverty, yes, and old age too and sickness, and all such things, appear heavy to some and grievous, but to others light and easy? For in the first case perhaps God lightens the weight according to the importance of the matter in question, and in the second case, I imagine, to suit the strength and will-power of the afflicted one."

And then I recalled Homer's Odysseus, who is always bewailing his lot, although he was a hero and quite able to endure. Yet he for all that says many unworthy things, and forever sits lamenting on the shore of the sea because he yearns for his native land; and finally, so the poet says, the longing came upon him to see smoke ascending from his own country, even if he should have to die straightway, and neither his former exploits could solace him nor a goddess very beautiful and good who cherished him, going so far as to promise to make him immortal; but all these things were outweighed by his yearning and love for his native land.¹ And then again I recalled how in one of the later poets² Electra, when enquiring about her brother in mournful fashion and pitying him for his exile, asks in somewhat the following fashion,

Where does the wretched man his wretched exile spend?

And he replies no less piteously,

In no one settled region doth he so waste away.

¹ See Homer. *Od.*, v., l. 48-59.

² Euripides, . Τετρα 2.53 236.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

τὴν δὲ αὐθις ἐρωτῶσαν,

ἥπου σπανίζει τοῦ καθ' ἡμέραν βίου;
κάκεῦνον οὕτως λέγοντα·

ἔχει μέν, ἀσθεινὴ δέ, ἅτε φείγων ἀνήρ,

6 πρὸς δὲ¹ τούτοις μυρία δὴ τολμηθέντα τολμημάτα
καὶ πολέμους πολεμηθέντας ὑπὸ φυγάδων, ὥπως
οἴκαδε κατέλθοιεν, πρὸς τε τοὺς δίγμων καὶ τοὺς
τυράννους τοὺς ἔξελάσαταις παρὰ δίναμιν, μέγα
νομιζόντων,² εἰ κινή δέοι τελευτῶν μαχημένους ἐν
τῇ αὐτῶν γῇ.

Σύμπαντα ταῦτά με ἔξεπλιγτε καὶ ἡγάγκαζε
δεινὸν ἥγεῖσθαι καὶ βαρὺ τὸ συμβεβηκός. ἐπεὶ
δὲ ἐνεθυμούμην ὅτι Κροίσω τῷ Λυδῶν βασιλεῖ
συνεβούλευσεν ὁ Ἀπόλλων συμβάντος τινὸς φεύ-
γειν ἕκόντα καταλιπόντα τὴν ἀρχήν, καὶ μηδὲν
αἰσχύνεσθαι τούτου ἔνεκεν, εἰ δόξει κακὸς εἶναι
τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, οὕτω πως θεσπίσας·

7 ἀλλ' ὅταν ἡμίονος βασιλεὺς Μήδοισι γένηται,
καὶ τότε, Λυδὲ ποδαβρέ, πολυψήφιδα πιρ,³ Ἐρμον
φεύγειν μηδὲ μένειν μηδ' αἰδεῖσθαι κακὸς εἶναι,
δῆλον ὅτι τὴν αἰδῶ νῦν ἀντὶ τῆς αἰσχύνης ὄνο-
μάζων, ὥσπερ ἔθος ἐστὶ τοῖς ποιηταῖς, καὶ τὸ
κακὸν εἶναι ἀντὶ τῆς δόξης τῆς παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς.
8 ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἐνεθυμούμην ὅτι οὐ πάντως ἡ φυγὴ
βλαβερὸν οὐδὲ ἀσύμφορον οὐδὲ τὸ μένειν ἀγαθὸν

¹ δὲ Geel : δὴ.

² νομιζόντων Reiske : νομίζοντας.

¹ Herodotus I. 55, translated by Rawlinson, modified to suit the present context.

THIRTEENTH DISCOURSE : IN ATHENS

Then she again asks,

Does he perchance live scant of daily bread?

And he replies thus,

Nay, bread he hath, but strengthless, exile's fare.

And in addition to all this I recalled countless deeds of valour performed and wars waged by exiles seeking thus to be restored to their homes, wars waged beyond their strength against the popular governments and despoticisms by which they had been driven out, for they counted it a great achievement to fight on their own soil even if it meant their death.

All these recollections frightened me and forced me to consider what had happened to me a terrible and onerous thing. But again, I reflected that Croesus, the king of the Lydians, was advised by Apollo, when a certain mischance fell, to leave his kingdom and go voluntarily into exile, and not to feel himself disgraced if he should be looked upon by men as a coward, the oracle running somewhat as follows :

Wait till the time shall come when a mule is
monarch of Media:

Then, thou delicate Lydian, away to the pebbles
of Hermus;

Haste thee and no longer stay, nor have awe of
being a coward.¹

It is evident that the poet uses 'awe' instead of 'shame' as is the custom the poets have, and 'being a coward' in place of 'being thought so by the many.' Then next the thought came to me that exile is not altogether injurious or unprofitable, nor

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

καὶ πολλοῦ ἄξιον. οὐ γὰρ ἂν τὸ μὲν αὐτῶν παρήνει καὶ συνεβούλευεν δὲ Ἀπόλλων, τὸ φεύγειν, τὸ δὲ μένειν, ἀντικρυσ ἀπηγόρευε, καὶ ταῦτα ἀνδρὶ θεοπίζων δις ἦν ἐπιμελέστατος περὶ τὸ θεῖον καὶ θυσίας τε πλεῖστας ἔθυε καὶ μέγιστα ἀναθήματα πεπόμφει τῶν πώποτε ἀναθέντων εἰς Δελφούς.

9) Ταῦτα ἐνθυμουμένῳ μοι ἔδιξε καὶ αὐτὸν εἰς θεοῦ βαδίσαντα χρήσιμοθι τιμβούλῳ ἵκαιῳ¹ κατὰ τὸ παλαιὸν ἔθος τῶν Ἑλλήνων. οὐ γὰρ περὶ νόσου μὲν καὶ ἀπαιδίας, εἴ τῷ μὴ γίγνοντο πᾶθες, καὶ περὶ καρπῶν ἵκαιῶς συμβούλεύειν αὐτόν, περὶ δὲ τοιούτου πράγματος ἡττον δυνήσειται. καὶ δὴ χρωμένῳ μοι ἀνεῖλεν ἄποπόν τινα χρησιμὸν καὶ οὐ ράδιον συμβαλεῖν. ἐκέλευε γάρ με αὐτὸ τοῦτο πράττειν ἐν ᾧ εἴμι πάσῃ προθυμίᾳ ὡς καλήν τινα καὶ συμφέρουσαν πρᾶξιν, ἕως ἂν, ἔφη, ἐπὶ τὸ ὕστατον ἀπέλθης τῆς γῆς. καίτοι χαλεπὸν καὶ οὐδὲ² κατ' ἀνθρωπον³ τὸ⁴ ψεύδεσθαι,
10) μὴ ὅτι κατὰ θεόν· ἐλογισάμην οὖν ὅτι δὲ μὲν Ὁδυσσεὺς μετὰ τοσούτους πλάνους οὐκ ὥκινησεν ἀλλασθαι πάλιν κώπην φέρων, Τειρεσίου συμβουλεύσαντος, ἀνδρὸς τεθνηκότος, μέχρι ἂν ἀνθρώποις συμβάλῃ μηδὲ ἀκοῇ γιγνώσκουσι θάλατταν· ἐμοὶ δὲ οὐ ποιητέον τοῦτο τοῦ θεοῦ κελεύοντος;

Οὕτω δὴ παρακελευσάμενος ἐμαυτῷ μήτε δεδιέναι μήτε αἰσχύνεσθαι τὸ πρᾶγμα, στολήν τε ταπεινὴν ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τἄλλα κολάστας ἐμαυτὸν

¹ ἵκαιῷ Cohoon: ἵκαιῶς.

² καὶ οὐδὲ Arnim, κού Weil: καὶ.

³ ἀνθρωπον Emperorius: ἀνθρώπου ορ ἀνθρώπους.

⁴ τὸ added by Capps.

¹ Compare Plato, *Apology of Socrates*, 20.

THIRTEENTH DISCOURSE: IN ATHENS

staying at home a good and praiseworthy thing. For Apollo would not have urged and advised the one course, to wit, going into exile, and have expressly forbidden the other course, staying, especially when prophesying to a man who had been most careful about divine observances and had offered the most sacrifices and sent to Delphi the largest votive offerings ever set up there.

Bearing in mind all these things I decided to go to the god's temple myself and consult him, as a competent adviser,¹ according to the ancient custom of the Greeks. For surely, thought I, if he gives competent advice about sickness and, if children are not born to a man, about childlessness, and about harvests, he will not show any less ability about such a case as mine. And then when I consulted him, he gave me a strange sort of reply and one not easy to interpret. For he bade me to keep on doing with all zeal the very thing wherein I am engaged, as being a most honourable and useful activity, "until thou comest," said he, "to the uttermost parts of the earth." And yet lying is a harsh thing to impute and not consistent with even a man's standards, to say nothing of a god's. Accordingly I reflected that Odysseus after all his wanderings did not hesitate to roam once more, when he carried an oar as Teiresias, a man dead and gone, had advised him, until he should fall in with people who knew not the sea, even by hearsay;² and should not I follow his example if God so bade?

So after exhorting myself in this way neither to fear or be ashamed of my action, and putting on humble attire and otherwise chastening myself, I

² See Homer, *Odyssey*, 11, 119 ff.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

11 ἡλώμην πανταχοῦ. οἱ δὲ ἐντυγχάνοντες ἀνθρωποι
όρωντες, οἱ μὲν ἀλήτηρ, οἱ δὲ πτωχὸν ἐκάλουν,
οἱ δέ τινες καὶ φιλόσοφον. ἐντεῦθεν ἐμοὶ συνέβη
κατ' ὀλίγον τε καὶ οὐ βουλευσάμενον αὐτὸν οὐδὲ
ἔφ' ἑαυτῷ μέγα φροντίζει τούτου τοῦ ὄντος
τυχεῖν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ παλιν τῶν καλούμενων
φιλοσόφων αὐτοὺς ἀνακηρύπτουσιν, ἔπειτα οἱ
Ολυμπίασι κήρυκες ἐγὼ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων λεγόντων
12 οὐκ ἐδυνάμην ἀεὶ καὶ πᾶσι διαιράχεσθαι. τυχὸν δέ
τι καὶ ἀπολαῦσαι τῆς φίμιτης συνέβη μοι. πολλοὶ
γὰρ ἡρώτων προσιώντες ὅτι μοι φιέντιτο ἀγαθὸν
ἢ κακόν· ἀπότελε ἡναγκαζόμενη φροντίζειν ὑπὲρ
τούτων, ἵνα ἔχοιμι ἀποκρίνεσθαι τοῖς ἐρωτῶσιν.
πάλιν δὲ ἐκέλευον λέγειν καταστάτη¹ εἰς τὸ κοινόν,
οὐκοῦν καὶ τοῦτο ἀναγκαῖον ἐγίγνετο λέγειν περὶ
13 τῶν προσηκόντων τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ ἀφ' ὧν
ἔμελλον δινίασθαι τὰ ἐμοὶ φαινόμενα.

'Εδόκουν δέ μοι πάντες ἄφρονες, ὡς ἔπος
εἰπεῖν, καὶ οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν ὧν ἔδει πράττειν οὐδὲ
σκοπεῖν ὅπως ἀπαλλαγεῖς τῶν παρόντων κακῶν
καὶ τῆς πολλῆς ἀμαθίας καὶ ταραχῆς ἐπιεικέ-
στερον καὶ ἄμεινον βιώσεται, κυκώμενοι δὲ καὶ
φερόμενοι πάντες ἐν ταύτῳ καὶ περὶ τὰ αὐτὰ
σχεδόν, περὶ τε χρήματα καὶ δόξας καὶ σωμάτων
τινὰς ἥδονάς, οὐδεὶς ἀπαλλαγῆναι τούτων δυνά-
μενος οὐδὲ ἐλευθερῶσαι τὴν αὐτοῦ ψυχήν· καθάπερ,
οἶμαι, τὰ ἐμπεσόντα εἰς τὰς δύνας εἰλούμενα καὶ
περιστρεφόμενα καὶ οὐχ ολά τε² ἀπαλλαγῆναι τῆς

¹ καταστάντα Pflugk, με καταστάντα Reiske: μεταστάντα.

² After τε the MSS. have δυνάμενα, which Cobet bracketed.

THIRTEENTH DISCOURSE : IN ATHENS

proceeded to roam everywhere. And the men whom I met, on catching sight of me, would sometimes call me a tramp and sometimes a beggar, though some did call me a philosopher. From this it came about gradually and without any planning or any self-conceit on my part that I acquired this name. Now the great majority of those styled philosophers proclaim themselves such, just as the Olympian heralds proclaim the victors ; but in my case, when the other folk applied this name to me, I was not able always and in all instances to have the matter out with them. And very likely, as it turned out, I did profit somewhat by the general report about me. For many would approach me and ask what was my opinion about good and evil. As a result I was forced to think about these matters that I might be able to answer my questioners. Furthermore, they would invite me to come before the public and speak. Consequently it became necessary for me to speak also about the duties of man and about the things that were likely, in my opinion, to profit him.

And the opinion I had was that pretty well all men are fools, and that no one does any of the things he should do, or considers how to rid himself of the evils that beset him and of his great ignorance and confusion of mind, so as to live a more virtuous and a better life ; but that they all are being thrown into confusion and are swept round and round in the same place and about practically the same objects, to wit, money and reputation and certain pleasures of the body, while no one is able to rid himself of these and set his own soul free ; just as, I fancy, things that get into a whirlpool are tossed and rolled without being able to free themselves from the

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

14 δινήσεως. ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τούς τε ἄλλους
 ἅπαντας καὶ μάλιστα καὶ πρῶτον ἐμαυτὸν κατα-
 μεμφόμενος ἐνίστητε¹ ὑπὸ ἀπορίας ἥτις ἐπὶ τινα
 λόγον ἀρχαῖον, λεγόμενον ὑπὸ τυρος Σωκράτους,
 ὃν οὐδέποτε ἐκεῖνος ἐπαύσατο λέγων, πανταχοῦ
 τε καὶ πρὸς ἅπαντας βοῶν καὶ διατεινόμενος
 ἐν ταῖς παλαιστραῖς καὶ ἐν τῷ Λυκείῳ καὶ ἐπὶ
 τῶν ἐργαστηρίων² καὶ κατ' ἀγοράν, ὡσπερ ἀπὸ
 μηχανῆς θεός, ὡς ἔφη τις. οὐ μέντοι προπεποιού-
 15 μην ἐμὸν εἶναι τὸν λόγον, ἀλλ' οὐπερ ἦν, καὶ ἡξίουν,
 ἀν ἄρα μὴ δύνωμαι ἀπομιημονεῦσαι ἀκριβῶς
 ἀπάντων τῶν ρήμάτων μηδὲ ὅλης τῆς διανοίας,
 ἀλλὰ πλέον ἡ ἐλαττον εἴπω τι, συγγνώμην ἔχειν,
 μηδὲ ὅτι ταῦτα λέγω ἢ τυγχάνει πολλοῖς ἔτεσι
 πρότερον εἰρημένα, διὰ τοῦτο ἥττον προσέχειν
 τὸν νοῦν. ἵσως γὰρ ἂν, ἔφην, οὕτως μάλιστα
 ὠφεληθείητε. οὐ γὰρ δή γε εἰκός ἔστι τοὺς
 παλαιοὺς λόγους ὡσπερ φάρμακα διαπνεύσαντας
 ἀπολωλεκέναι τὴν δύναμιν.

16 Ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ὅπότ' ἴδοι πλείονας ἀνθρώπους ἐν
 τῷ αὐτῷ, σχετλιάζων καὶ ἐπιτιμῶν ἐβόα πάνυ
 ἀνδρείως τε καὶ ἀνυποστόλως, Ήοι φέρεσθε,

¹ ἐνίστητε Reiske: ἦν· ἐνίστητε δὲ (δὲ καὶ by corrector) P, ἐνίστη
 δὲ UBM.

² τῶν ἐργαστηρίων καὶ κατ' Cobet: τῶν δικαστηρίων καὶ κατ'
 UB, τῷ δικαστηρίῳ κατ' MP.

¹ At this point begins the passage ending in section 28, which is based on either the pseudoplatonic *Cleitophon* or on a source common to both it and this passage in Dio. See Introduction, p. 89.

THIRTEENTH DISCOURSE: IN ATHENS

whirling. While I was uttering these and similar upbraidings of all others, but first and foremost of myself, at times, when at a loss, I would have recourse to an ancient appeal made by a certain Socrates,¹ one that he never ceased making, everywhere and to everyone, crying out and declaiming earnestly, in the wrestling schools and in the Lyceum and at the workshops and up and down the market-place,² like a god swung into view by the machine,³ as someone has said.⁴ By no means, however, did I pretend that the appeal was mine, but gave the credit where it was due, and requested them, in case I were unable to recall accurately all the phrases, or even not all the thought, but should add or subtract anything, to grant me their indulgence and not to pay any the less attention to me just because I was repeating what happened to have been said many years before. "For perhaps," said I, "you will in this way derive the greatest benefit. For in truth," I added, "it is not at all probable that the words of old have evaporated like drugs and lost their power."

Now Socrates, whenever he saw several persons assembled, would cry out most bravely and frankly with indignant rebuke and censure, "Whither are you

¹ The statement that Socrates never ceased making this appeal was made by Socrates himself according to Plato. See *Plato, Apology of Socrates* 20 d.

² See the Pseudo-Platonic *Cleitophon* 407 a for the same phrase. Dio was not thinking of the way the god was brought into view, but of the solemn admonitions which he gave from his elevated position. Plato in the *Cratylus* 425 d says that the writers of tragedy had recourse to a *deus ex machina* whenever they were in difficulties with the plot.

³ The "someone" is the man who used the preceding expression in the source which Dio used.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

ῶνθρωποι, καὶ ἀγνοεῖτε μηδὲν¹ τῶν δεόντων πράττοντες, χρημάτων μὲν ἐπιμελούμενοι καὶ πορίζοντες πάντα τρόπου, ὅπως αὐτοὶ τε ἄφθονα ἔχητε καὶ τοῖς παισὶν ἔτι πλείω πιραδώσετε; αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν παιδῶν καὶ πρότερον ὑμῶν τῶν πατέρων ἡμελήκατε ὅμοιῶς ἄπαντες, οὐδεμίᾳν εὔροντες οὔτε παιδευσιν οὔτε ἀσκησιν ἵκανην οὐδὲ ὀφέλιμον ἀνθρώποις, ἦν παιδευθέντες δυνήσεσθε² τοῖς χρήμασι χρῆσθαι ὄρθως καὶ δικαίως, ἀλλὰ μὴ βλαβερῶς καὶ ἀδίκως, καὶ ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς ἀνεπιζημίως,³ δι σπουδαιότερον ἥγενται τῶν χρημάτων ἔχρην, καὶ⁴ νίοις καὶ θυγατράσι καὶ γυναιξὶ καὶ ἀδελφοῖς καὶ φίλοις, κάκεῖνοι ὑμῖν.

17 Ἄλλὰ ἦ⁵ κιθαρίζειν καὶ παλαίειν καὶ γράμματα μανθάνοντες ὑπὸ τῶν γονέων καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς διδάσκοντες οἵεσθε σωφρονέστερον καὶ ἄμεινον οἰκήσειν τὴν πόλιν; καίτοι εἴ τις συναγαγὼν τούς τε κιθαριστὰς καὶ τοὺς παιδοτρίβας καὶ τοὺς γραμματιστὰς τοὺς ἄριστα ἐπισταμένους ἔκαστα τούτων πόλιν κατοικίσειν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἦ καὶ ἔθνος, καθάπερ ὑμεῖς ποτε τὴν Ἰωνίαν, ποία τις ἀν ὑμῖν δοκεῖ γενέσθαι πόλις καὶ τίνα οἰκεῖσθαι τρόπον; οὐ πολὺ κάκιον καὶ αἰσχιον τῆς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καπήλων πόλεως, ὅπου πάντες κάπηλοι κατοικοῦσιν, ὅμοιῶς μὲν ἄνδρες, ὅμοιῶς δὲ γυναῖκες; οὐ πολὺ γελοιότερον οἰκήσουσιν οὗτοι, οὓς λέγω

¹ οὐδὲν in Plato, *Cleitophon* 407 b.

² δυνήσεσθε Reiske : δυνήσονται.

³ ἀνεπιζημίως Carpis : ἐπιζημίως.

⁴ τοῖς after καὶ deleted by Reiske.

⁵ ἦ Jacobs : οἱ.

¹ That is, Naucratis, a Greek city in the Canopic arm of the Nile. See Herodotus 2. 179. Before the founding of Alexandria.

THIRTEENTH DISCOURSE : IN ATHENS

drifting, men? Are you quite unaware that you are doing none of the things that you should do, in concerning yourselves with money and trying to get it in any way and every way, in order that you may not only have it in abundance yourselves, but may bequeath still more of it to your children? Yet the children themselves—aye, and earlier, yourselves, their fathers—you have all alike neglected, since you have found no education and no mode of life that is satisfactory, or even profitable, for man, which, if acquired, will enable you to use your money rightly and justly, instead of harmfully and unjustly, and to treat without hurt, not only yourselves, whom you should have considered of more value than wealth, but also your sons and daughters and wives and brothers and friends, even as they should treat you.

“ But, pray, is it by learning from your parents to play the lyre and to wrestle, to read and write, and by teaching your sons these things that you think that your city will be inhabited by more disciplined and better citizens? And yet if one were to bring together all the cithara players and gymnastic masters and schoolmasters who have the best knowledge of their respective subjects, and, if you should found a city with them or even a nation, just as you at one time colonized Ionia, what sort of a city do you think it would be, and what the character of its citizens? Would not life be much worse and viler than it is in that city of shopkeepers in Egypt, where all shopkeepers settle, both men and women alike?¹ Will not a much more ridiculous society be made by these

dria it was the chief port for the trade carried on between Greece and Egypt.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

τοὺς τῶν ὑμετέρων παιδῶν διδασκάλους, οἱ παιδοτρίβαι καὶ κιθαρισταὶ καὶ γραμματισταί, προσλαβόντες τούς τε ῥαψῳδοὺς καὶ τοὺς ὑποκριτάς;

18 Καὶ γὰρ δὴ ὅσα μανθάνουσιν οἱ ἀνθρωποι, τούτου ἔνεκα μανθάνουσιν ὅπως, ἐπειδὸν ἡ χρεία ἐνστῇ πρὸς ἣν ἐμάριθανεν ἕκαστος, πυῃ τὸ κατὰ τὴν τέχνην, οἷον δὲ μὲν κυβερνήτης ὅταν εἰς τὴν ταῦν ἐμβῆ, τῷ πηδαλίῳ κατευθύνων.¹ διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ ἐμάριθανε κυβερνᾶν δὲ ἵατρὸς ἐπειδὸν παραλάβη τὸν κάμνοντα, τοῖς φαρμάκοις καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὴν δλαιταν ἴώμενος, οὗ ἔνεκα ἐκτίγιστο τὴν ἐμπειρίαν.

19 οὐκοῦν καὶ ὑμεῖς, ἔφη, ἐπειδὸν δέη τι βιουλεύεσθαι περὶ τῆς πόλεως, συνελθόντες εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, οἱ μὲν ὑμῶν κιθαρίζουσιν ἀναστάντες, οἱ δέ τινες παλαίετε, ἄλλοι δὲ ἀναγιγνώσκετε τῶν Ὁμήρου τι λαβόντες ἢ τῶν Ἡσιόδου; ταῦτα γὰρ ἄμεινον ἔστε ἑτέρων, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων οἵεοθε ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ ἔσεοθαι καὶ δυνήσεοθαι τά τε κοινὰ πράττειν² ὅρθως καὶ τὰ ἴδια. καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ ταύταις ταῖς ἐλπίσιν οἰκεῖτε τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοὺς νιέας παρασκευάζετε ὡς δυνατοὺς ἐσομένους χρῆσθαι τοῖς τε αὐτῶν καὶ τοῖς δημοσίοις πράγμασιν, οἵ ἂν ἱκανῶς κιθαρίσωσι³

Παλλάδα περσέπολιν δεινάν

¹ κατευθύνων Reiske : κατευθύνη.

² πράττειν Dindorf : πράξειν UBP, πρᾶξιν M.

THIRTEENTH DISCOURSE: IN ATHENS

teachers of your children of whom I speak—I mean the gymnastic masters, the cithara players, and the schoolmasters, including the rhapsodists and the actors?

"For mark you, everything that people learn, they learn simply in order that when the need arises for the things which each man has learned, he may do the work of his profession, the pilot, for instance, guiding the ship with the rudder as soon as he steps on board—for this is why he studied piloting—and the physician healing with his drugs and dietary regulations when he takes charge of his patient—the purpose for which he acquired his skill. And so, to take your own case," he continued, "when there is need of any deliberation concerning the welfare of your city and you have come together in the Assembly, do some of you get up and play the cithara, and certain other individuals wrestle, and yet others of you take something of Homer's or Hesiod's and proceed to read it? For these are the things that you know better than the others, and these are the things which you think will make you good men and enable you to conduct your public affairs properly and your private concerns likewise. And now, these are the hopes which inspire you when you direct your city and prepare your sons, thinking to qualify them to handle both their own and the public's interests if only they can play satisfactorily

Pallas, dread destroyer of cities,¹

¹ Lamprocles, fragment 1 in Bergk, *Poetae Lyricae Graecae*. Quoted in Aristophanes, *Clouds* 967, where the poet also is speaking of education.

² κιθαρώων Emperius: κιθαρώων η.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

ἢ ὅλῳ¹ ποδὶ βῶσι πρὸς τὴν λύραι· ὅπως δὲ γνώσεσθε τὰ συμφέροντα ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς καὶ τῇ πατρίδι καὶ νομίμως καὶ δικαίως μεθ' ὄμογοίνας πολιτεύσεσθε καὶ οἰκήσετε, μὴ ἀδικῶν ἄλλος ἄλλον μηδὲ ἐπιβουλεύων, τοῦτο δὲ οὐδέποτε ἐμάθετε οὐδὲ ἐμέλη-

20) σεν ὑμῖν πώποτε οὐδὲ νῦν ἔτι φροντίζετε. καίτοι τραγῳδοὺς ἑκάστοτε ὅρᾶτε τοῦς Διονυσίους καὶ ἐλεέετε τὰ ἀτυχήματα τῶν ἐν ταῖς τραγῳδίαις ἀνθρώπων· ἀλλ' ὅμιλος οὐδέποτε ἐνεθυμίζῃτε ὅτι οὐ περὶ τοὺς ἀγραιμάτους οὐδὲ περὶ τοὺς ἀπάδοντας οὐδὲ τοὺς οὐκ εἰδότας παλαιέων γίγνεται τὰ κακὰ ταῦτα, οὐδὲ ὅτι πένητος τίς ἐστιν, οὐδεὶς ἔνεκα τούτου τραγῳδίαν ἔδιδαξεν. τούμαντίον γὰρ περὶ τοὺς Ἀτρέας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγαμέμνονας καὶ τοὺς Οἰδίποδας ἴδοι τις ἂν πάσας τὰς τραγῳδίας, οἱ πλεῦστα ἑκέκτηντο χρήματα χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου καὶ γῆς καὶ βοσκημάτων· καὶ δὴ τῷ δυστυχεστάτῳ αὐτῶν γενέσθαι φασὶ χρυσοῦν πρόβατον.

21) καὶ μὴν ὁ Θάμυρίς γε εὖ μάλα ἐπιστάμενος κιθαρίζειν καὶ πρὸς αὐτὰς τὰς Μούσας ἐρίζων περὶ τῆς ἄρμονίας, ἐτυφλώθη διὰ τοῦτο καὶ προσέτι ἀπέμαθε τὴν κιθαριστικήν. καὶ τὸν Παλαμήδην οὐδὲν ἔνησεν, αὐτὸν εύρόντα τὰ γράμματα πρὸς τὸ

¹ ὅλω Herwerden, cf. Apoll. Rhod. 4. 1165 ἐπέβημεν ὅλω ποδὶ : τῷ.

1 That is, Atreus the son of Pelops. According to the version of the story which Dio seems to have in mind Atreus vowed to sacrifice to Artemis the most beautiful creature born in his flocks; but when the golden lamb was born, he disregarded his vow and hid the lamb in a chest. Then his brother Iob

THIRTEENTH DISCOURSE : IN ATHENS

or 'with eager foot' betake themselves to the lyre. But as to how you are to learn what is to your own advantage and that of your native city, and to live lawfully and justly and harmoniously in your social and political relations without wronging or plotting against one another, this you never learned nor has this problem ever yet given you any concern, nor even at this moment does it trouble you at all. But although you every year see the tragic performances at the Dionysia and pity the misfortunes of the characters in the exhibitions of tragedies, yet in spite of this you have never reflected that it is not the illiterate or the singers who sing out of tune or those who do not know how to wrestle to whom these evils happen, nor has anyone ever brought out a tragedy about a man simply because he is poor. Quite the contrary ! It is heroes like Atreus, Agamemnon, and Oedipus who form the subject of all the tragedies, as anyone may see, men who possessed a wealth of gold and silver and land and cattle ; and indeed, for the most unfortunate of them they say a golden sheep was born.¹ And again, even Thamyris,² who was very proficient in playing the cithara and strove with the Muses themselves for the prize in music, was blinded because of this and unlearned the art of playing the cithara in the bargain. And his invention of the letters of the alphabet availed Palamedes naught to save him from

Tyestes seduced his wife Aeropē, stole the lamb, and got Atreus to agree that the one in possession of the lamb should be king.

² A Thracian singer. See Euripides, *Rhesus* 915 ff. and Homer, *Iliad* 2. 595, for the same story about him as Dio gives here. A picture of the blinded Thamyris appeared in Polygnotus' painting of the Underworld. See Pausanias 10. 30. 8.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

μὴ ἀδίκως ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ παιδευθέντων καταλευσθέντα ἀποθανεῖν· ἀλλ' ἔως μὲν ἡσαν ἀγράμματοι καὶ ἀμαθεῖς τούτου τοῦ μαθήματος, ζῆν αὐτὸν εἴων· ἐπειδὴ δὲ τούς τε ἄλλους ἐδίδαξε γράμματα καὶ τοὺς Ἀτρεΐδας δῆλον ὅτι πρώτους, καὶ μετὰ τῶν γραμμάτων τοὺς φρυκτοὺς ὅπως χρὴ ἀνέχειν καὶ ἀριθμεῖν τὸ πλῆθος, ἐπεὶ πρότερον οὐκ ἥδεσαν οὐδὲ καλῶς ἀριθμῆσαι τὸν ὄχλον, ὥσπερ οἱ ποιμένες τὰ πρόβατα, τηνικαῦτα σοφώτεροι γενόμενοι καὶ ἀμείνους ἀπέκτειναν αὐτόν.

22 Εἰ δέ γε, ἔφη, τοὺς βῆτορας οἵεσθε ἵκανοὺς εἶναι πρὸς τὸ βουλεύεσθαι καὶ τὴν ἐκείνων τέχνην ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς ποιεῖν, θαυμάζω ὅτι οὐ καὶ δικάζειν ἐκείνοις ἐπετρέψατε ὑπὲρ τῶν πραγμάτων, ἀλλ' ὑμῶν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ὅπως οὐκ, εἰ δικαιοτάτους καὶ ἀρίστους ὑπειλήφατε, καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἐκείνοις ἐπετρέψατε διαχειρίζειν. ὅμοιον γὰρ ἦν ποιήσαιτε ὥσπερ εἰ κυβερνήτας καὶ ναυάρχους τῶν τριήρων ἀποδείξαιτε¹ τοὺς τριηρίτας² ἢ τοὺς κελευστάς.

23 Εἰ δὲ δή³ τις λέγοι τῶν πολιτικῶν τε καὶ βῆτόρων πρὸς αὐτὸν ὅτι ταύτη μέντοι τῇ παιδεύσει χρώμενοι Ἀθηναῖοι Περσῶν ἐπιστρατευσάντων τοσαύταις μυριάσιν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν δὶς ἐφεξῆς καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Ἑλλάδα, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον δύναμιν καὶ

¹ ἀποδείξαιτε Emperius: ἀποδείξητε ΟΒΜ, ἀποδείξετε Ρ.

² τριηρίτας Reiske: τριηρήτας ΟΒ, τριηλάτας ΜΡ.

THIRTEENTH DISCOURSE : IN ATHENS

suffering injustice at the hands of the very Achaeans who had been instructed by him and from being put to death by stoning. But as long as they were unlettered and unacquainted with this special learning of his, they permitted him to live. When, however, he had taught the others to read and write, and the Atreidae of course first of all, and along with their letters had shown them how to raise bale-fires and how to count the host—for previously they had not known how to count the multitude properly, as shepherds do their sheep¹—as soon as they had become more clever and proficient, then it was that they slew him.

“ But if you really think,” said he, “ that the orators are qualified to deliberate and that their profession is competent to make men good, I am surprised that you have not entrusted the deciding of questions of state to them instead of to your own selves; and why, if you regard them as the best and most just of men, you have not allowed them to manage your finances also. No, for you would be acting just as if you were to appoint the marines or boatswains to be the helmsmen and captains of your triremes ! ”

Then if one of the public men and orators said to him in reply: “ Anyhow it was this education that the Athenians had received and were using at the time when the Persians came with so many myriads against their city twice in succession, and against the rest of Greece: on the first occasion when the Persian king

¹ To Palamedes was ascribed the invention of the letters of the alphabet, of the numerals, of astronomy, of written laws.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

στρατηγοὺς ἀποστεῖλαντος τοῦ βασιλέως, ὅπερον
δὲ αὐτοῦ Ξέρξου παραγενημένοι μετὰ παντὸς
τοῦ πλήθους τοῦ κατὶ τῷ Ἀττίᾳ, ἀπαντας τού-
τους ἐνίκησαν καὶ πανταχοῦ περιῆσαν αὐτῶν
καὶ τῷ βουλεύεσθαι καὶ τῷ μίχεσθαι· καίτοι
πῶς ἂν ἡδύναντο περιεῖναι τηλικύπτης παραπτευῆς
καὶ τοσούτου πλήθους μὴ διαφέροντες καπτ' ἀρετήν;
ἢ πῶς ἂν ἀρετῇ διέφερον μὴ τῆς ἀράττης παιδειας
τυγχάνοντες, ἀλλὰ φαύλης καὶ ἀναφιλοῦς;

24 Πρὸς τὸν τοιαῦτα εἰπόντα ἔλεγεν ὅτι οὐδὲ
ἐκεῖνοι ἥλθον παιδεῖν οὐδεμίαν παιδευθέντες
οὐδὲ ἐπιστάμενοι βουλεύεσθαι περὶ τῶν πραγ-
μάτων, ἀλλὰ τοξεύειν τε καὶ ἵππεύειν καὶ
θηρᾶν μεμελετηκότες, καὶ τὸ γυμνοῦντο τὸ σῶμα
αἴσχιστον αὐτοῖς ἔδόκει καὶ τὸ πτύειν ἐν τῷ φιανερῷ.
ταῦτα δὲ αὐτοὺς οὐδὲν ἔμελλεν ὄντειν· ὥστε οὐδὲ
ἥν στρατηγὸς ἔκείνων οὐδεὶς οὐδὲ βασιλεύς,
ἀλλὰ μυριάδες ἀνθρώπων ἀμύθητοι πάντων ἀφρό-
νων καὶ κακοδαιμόνων. εἰς δέ τις ἐν αὐτοῖς
ὑπῆρχεν ὅρθην ἔχων τιάραν καὶ ἐπὶ θρόνου χρυσοῦ
καθίζων, ὑφ' οὗ πάντες ὥσπερ ὑπὸ δαίμονος
ἡλαύνοντο πρὸς βίαν, οἱ μὲν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν,
οἱ δὲ κατὰ τῶν ὁρῶν, καὶ μαστιγούμενοι καὶ
δεδιότες καὶ ὠθούμενοι καὶ τρέμοντες ἤναγκά-
ζοντο ἀποθνήσκειν. ὥσπερ οὖν εἰ δύο ἀνθρώπω
παλαίειν οὐκ εἶδότε παλαίοιεν, ὅ γε ἔτερος κατα-
βάλοι ἂν ἐνίστε τὸν ἔτερον, οὐ δι' ἐμπειρίαν,

¹ The "Just Argument" makes the same claim in the *Clouds* of Aristophanes 985-6: "But still these are the things on which my education reared the men who fought at Marathon"—

ἀλλ' οὐν ταῦτ' ἔστιν ἔκείνα,
εἴς ᾧν ἄνδρας Μαραθωνομάχους ἢ μὴ παλδενοις ἔθρεψεν.

THIRTEENTH DISCOURSE : IN ATHENS

sent an army and generals,¹ and later when Xerxes came in person with all the hosts of Asia ; but nevertheless they conquered all these, and everywhere proved superior to them both in planning and in fighting. And yet how would they have been able to prevail over so great an armament and over so mighty a host, if they had not been superior in the qualities of valour ? Or how would they have been superior in such excellence, if they had not enjoyed the most excellent education, but a poor and useless one ? ”

In answer to anyone using such arguments he would reply that neither had their enemies received any education before they came, nor did they know how to deliberate about affairs of state, but had simply been trained to shoot and ride and hunt, while they thought exposure of the body the most shameful thing, and spitting in public.² “ But those things,” he said “ were destined to avail them not at all ; with the result that there was not even a general over them nor yet a king, but there were simply countless myriads of men, all foolish and doomed to an evil fate. However, there was one among them who had the right to wear his tiara upright and to sit upon a golden throne, by whom all were driven on by compulsion, as if by an evil spirit, some into the sea and some down from the hills ; while scourged by the lash, in terror, and jostling one another and trembling, they were forced to die. Hence, just as if two men quite ignorant of wrestling were to wrestle together, one of them would sometimes throw the other, not because of his greater experience but by mere chance, and often the same

¹ See Xenophon, *Cyropaedia*, I. 2. 16.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

ἀλλὰ διά τινα τύχην, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ δὶς ἐφεξῆς
δι αὐτός, οὕτως καὶ Ἀθηναίοις Πέρσαι συμβαλόντες,
τοτὲ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι περιῆσαν, τοτὲ δὲ Πέρσαι,
ῶσπερ ὕστερον, ὅτε καὶ τὰ τείχη τῆς πόλεως
26 κατέβαλον μετὰ Λακεδαιμονίων πολεμοῦντες. ἐπεὶ
ἔχοις ἂν μοι εἰπεῖν εἰ τότε¹ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀμουσό-
τεροι καὶ ἀγραμματώτεροι γεγόνεσαν; ἐπειτα
αὖθις ἐπὶ Κόνωνος, ὅτε ἐνίκησαν τῇ ναιμαχίᾳ
τῇ περὶ Κνίδου, ἀμεινον ἐπάλαιον καὶ ἥδον;

Οὕτως οὖν ἀπέφαινεν αὐτοὺς οὐδεμιᾶς πιαδείας
χρηστῆς τυγχάνοντας. τοῦτο δ', ἔφη,² οὐ μόνον
Ἀθηναίοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ σχεδόν τι πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις
καὶ πρότερον καὶ νῦν συμβέβηκεν.

27 Καὶ μὴν τό γε ἀπαίδευτον εἶναι καὶ μηδὲν
ἐπιστάμενον³ ὡν χρή, μηδὲ ἵκανῶς παρεσκευασ-
μένον πρὸς τὸν βίον, ζῆν τε καὶ πράττειν ἐπιχειρεῖν
οὕτως μεγάλα πράγματα, μηδὲ αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους
ἀρέσκειν· τοὺς γὰρ ἀμαθεῖς καὶ ἀπαιδεύτους
ψέγειν αὐτοὺς ὡς οὐ δυναμένους ζῆν ὀρθῶς.
εἶναι δὲ ἀμαθεῖς οὐχὶ τοὺς ὑφαίνειν ἢ σκυτοτο-
μεῖν μὴ ἐπισταμένους οὐδὲ τοὺς ὀρχεῖσθαι οὐκ
εἰδότας, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἀγνοοῦντας ἃ ἔστιν εἰδότα
καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα εἶναι.

¹ τότε Casaubon: ποτε.

² ἔφη added by Capps.

³ ἐπιστάμενον Venetian edition: ἐπισταμένως.

¹ At the end of the Peloponnesian War in 404 B.C. The Persians are credited with having tipped the scale in favour of Sparta.

THIRTEENTH DISCOURSE : IN ATHENS

man would even throw his opponent twice in succession; so too, when the Persians clashed with the Athenians, at one time the Athenians prevailed and at another time the Persians, as at a later time, when they were fighting the Athenians with the aid of the Lacedaemonians, they even tore down the walls of their city.¹ Yet would you be able to assert to me that at that time the Athenians had become less cultivated and more illiterate? Afterwards, again, in the time of Conon, when they won the naval engagement off Cnidos,² were they more skilful at wrestling and singing odes?"

This is the way, then, in which he would demonstrate that they were not receiving a useful education. And this, he said, had been the experience, not alone of the Athenians, but of practically all mankind, both in the past and in the present age.

"Furthermore," he would go on to say, "to be uneducated and to know none of the essential things, and to have no adequate preparation for life, and yet to go on living and to attempt while in that condition to carry on important matters of state—this cannot satisfy even the persons themselves; for they themselves criticize the ignorant and uneducated as not being able to live aright. And by the ignorant I mean, not those who do not know how to weave or how to make shoes, nor the people who cannot dance, but those who are ignorant of the things which one must know if he is to be a good and noble man."

¹ Since the naval engagement between the Athenians and Spartans off Cnidos was not fought until 394 B.C., and Socrates was put to death in 399 B.C., he could not have spoken this sentence.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

28 Καὶ οὗτως δὴ παρεκάλει πρὸς τὸ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι καὶ προσέχειν αὐτῷ τὸν νοῦν καὶ φιλοσοφεῖν· γῆδει γὰρ ὅτι τοῦτο ζητοῦντες οὐδὲν ἄλλο ποιήσουσιν ἢ φιλοσοφήσουσι· τὸ γὰρ ζητεῖν καὶ φιλοτιμεῖσθαι ὅπως τις ἔσται καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθὸς οὐκ ἄλλο τι εἶναι ἢ τὸ φιλοσοφεῖν. οὐ μέντοι πολλάκις οὕτως ὠνόμαζεν, ἄλλὰ μόνον ζητεῖν ἐκέλευεν ὅπως ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ ἔσονται.

29 Πρὸς τε οὖν τοὺς ἄλλους σχεδόν τι τὰ αὐτὰ διελεγόμην ἀρχαῖα καὶ ἔωλα,¹ καὶ ἐπειδὴ οὐκ εἴων ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Ῥώμῃ γενόμενον ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν, ἵδιον μὲν οὐδένα ἐτόλμων διαλέγεσθαι λόγον, μὴ καταγελασθῶ τε καὶ ἀνόητος δόξω φοβούμενος, ἅτε συνειδὼς αὐτῷ πολλὴν ἀρχαιότητα καὶ ἀμαθίαν· ἐνεθυμούμην δέ·

Φέρε, ἂν² μιμούμενος τοιούτους τινὰς διαλέγωμαι λόγους περὶ τῶν θαυμαζομένων παρ' αὐτοῖς, ὡς οὐδέν ἔστιν αὐτῶν ἀγαθόν, καὶ περὶ τρυφῆς καὶ ἀκολασίας, ^{*}καὶ ὅτι παιδείας πολλῆς καὶ ἀγαθῆς δέονται, τυχὸν οὐ καταγελάσουσί μου ταῦτα λέγοντος οὐδὲ φήσουσιν ἀνόητον· εἰ δὲ μή, ἔξω λέγειν ὅτι εἰσὶν οἱ λόγοι σύντοι ἀνδρὸς δν οἴ τε Ἐλληνες ἐθαύμασαν ἅπαντες ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ καὶ δὴ καὶ ὁ Ἀπόλλων σοφώτατον³ αὐτὸν ἡγήσατο· καὶ Ἀρχέλαος Μακεδόνων βασιλεύς, πολλὰ εἰδὼς καὶ πολλοῖς συγγεγονὼς τῶν σοφῶν, ἐκάλει αὐτὸν ἐπὶ δώροις

¹ ἔωλα Capps: φαῦλα.

² φέρε, ἂν Arnim: φέρειν M, φέρε εἰ UBP.

³ σοφώτατον Kaihel. Cf. Plato, *Apology* 21 a; σοφὸν.

THIRTEENTH DISCOURSE : IN ATHENS

And speaking in this manner he would exhort his hearers to take care to give heed to his words, and to pursue philosophy ; for he knew that if they sought that which he recommended, they would be doing nothing else than studying philosophy. For if a man strives earnestly to be good and honourable, that is nothing but being a philosopher. However, he did not often use that word for it, but merely bade them to seek to be good men.

Now to my hearers I used to say practically the same things as Socrates did, things old-fashioned and trite though they were, and when they refused to leave me in peace even on reaching Rome itself, I did not venture to speak any word of my own, fearing lest I be laughed at and regarded as a fool, since I was well aware how completely old-fashioned and ignorant I was ; and I said to myself :

" Come now, if I, copying the words of another, use such derogatory words about things which are highly regarded at Rome here, and tell them that not one of these things is a good, if I speak of luxury and intemperance, and tell them that what they need is a thorough and sound education, perhaps they will not laugh at me for uttering such sentiments nor declare that I am a fool. But if they do, I shall be able to say that those words were spoken by a man whom the Greeks one and all admired for his wisdom, and what is more, whom Apollo actually considered the wisest man in the world,¹ while Archelaus, the king of Macedonia, who knew a great deal and had consorted with many wise men, tried to get him to come to Macedonia, offering

¹ See Plato, *Apology of Socrates* 23 a and compare Discourse 58. 8.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

καὶ μισθοῖς, ὅπως ἀκούοι αὐτοῦ διαλεγομένου τοὺς λόγους τοιούτους.¹

31 Οὕτω δὴ καὶ ἐγὼ ἐπειρώμην διαλέγεσθαι ‘Ρωμαίοις, ἐπειδή με ἐκάλεσαν καὶ λέγειν ἡξίουν, οὐ κατὰ δύο καὶ τρεῖς ἀπολαμβάνων ἐν παλαίστραις καὶ περιπάτοις· οὐ γὰρ ἦν δυνατὸν οὕτως ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ πόλει συγγίγνεσθαι· πολλοῖς τε καὶ ἀθρόοις εἰς ταῦτο συνιοῦσιν, ὅτι δέονται παιδείας κρείττονος καὶ ἐπιμελεστέρας, εἰ μέλλουσιν εὐδαίμονες ἔσεσθαι τῷ ὅντι κατ’ ἀλήθειαν, ἀλλὰ μὴ δόξῃ τῶν πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὥσπερ νῦν· εἴ τις αὐτοὺς μεταπείσει καὶ διδάξει παραλαβὼν ὅτι τούτων μὲν οὐδέν ἐστιν ἀγαθόν, ὑπὲρ ὧν σπουδάζουσι καὶ πάσῃ προθυμίᾳ κτῶνται, καὶ νομίζουσιν, ὅσῳ ἂν πλείω κτήσωνται, τοσούτῳ ἀμεινον βιώσεσθαι καὶ μακαριώτερον· σωφροσύνην δὲ καὶ ἀνδρείαν καὶ δικαιοσύνην ἔάνπερ ἐκμελετήσωσι καὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἀναλάβωσι, διδασκάλους ποθὲν τούτων εὑρόντες καὶ τῶν ἀλλων ἀπάντων, ἀμελήσαντες εἴτε ‘Ελληνας εἴτε ‘Ρωμαίους, εἴτε τις παρὰ Σκύθαις ἢ παρ’ Ἰνδοῖς ἀνήρ ἐστι διδάσκαλος ὃν εἶπον, οὐχ² ὥσπερ, οἷμαι, τοξικῆς τε καὶ ἵππικῆς, ἀλλὰ³ τὴν Δία ἱατρός τις θεραπεύειν ἐπιστάμενος τὰ νοσήματα τοῦ σώματος, οὕτως ἴκανὸς ὃν ἴσθαι τὰς τῆς ψυχῆς νόσους, ὅστις ἀκολασίας καὶ πλεονεξίας καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἀρρωστημάτων δυνήσεται ἀπαλλάξαι τοὺς ὑπ’ αὐτῶν κρατούμένους, τοῦτον δεῖ⁴ παραλαβόντας καὶ ἀγαγόντας,

¹ τοιούτους Capps: τούτους.

² οὐχ added by Capps.

³ ἀλλὰ Capps: ἢ.

⁴ δεῖ added by Cohoon.

THIRTEENTH DISCOURSE : IN ATHENS

him gifts and fees that he might have the privilege of hearing him say such things."

And thus it came about that I too endeavoured to talk to the Romans when they had summoned me and invited me to speak, but I did not take them by twos and threes in wrestling-schools and cloistered walks; for it was not possible to meet them thus in that city; but when a great number had gathered in one place, I would tell them that they needed a better and more carefully planned education, if they were ever to be happy in truth and reality and not merely in the opinion of the majority, as was now the case; that if anyone should win them to this view and take them in charge and teach them that not a single one of those things is a good to which they devoted themselves and which they strove with all their zeal to acquire, in the belief that, the more they acquired, the better and happier their life would be; but that if they wholeheartedly practised temperance, manliness, and justice, and took them into their souls, securing from somewhere teachers who taught these things and all the other things too, not caring whether the men were Greeks or Romans, or, for that matter, if there is among the Scythians or the Indians a man who teaches the things of which I have spoken—not, as I think, archery and horsemanship, but far better, if there were a physician who, knowing how to treat the infirmities of the body, is in that way competent to heal the maladies of the soul—a teacher, I mean, who would be able to rid of licentiousness and covetousness and all such infirmities those who were dominated by them—of that man, I say, they should take possession and lead him to their

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

λόγω πείσαντας ἢ φιλίᾳ· χρήμασι μὲν γὰρ οὐ δυνατὸν ἄνδρα πεισθῆναι τοιοῦτον οὐδὲ ἄλλοις δώροις· καταστήσαντας δὲ εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν νόμῳ προαγορεῦσαι τοὺς νέους ἅπαντας φοιτᾶν παρ' αὐτὸν καὶ συνεῖναι, καὶ μηδὲν ἥπτον τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους, ἕως ἂν ἅπαντες σοφοὶ γενόμενοι καὶ δικαιοσύνης ἐρασθέντες, καταφρονήσαντες χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου καὶ ἐλέφαντος καὶ ὄψου δὴ καὶ μύρου καὶ ἀφροδισίων, εὐδαιμονες οἰκῶσι καὶ ἄρχοντες μάλιστα καὶ πρῶτον αὐτῶν, ἔπειτα

34 καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων.

Τότε γάρ, ἔφην, ἔσται ὑμῶν ἡ πόλις μεγάλη καὶ ἴσχυρὰ καὶ ἄρχουσα κατ' ἀλήθειαν· ὡς τό γε νῦν τὸ μέγεθος αὐτῆς ὑποπτον καὶ οὐ πάνυ ἀσφαλές. ὅσῳ γάρ ἄν, ἔφην, πλείων ἡ τε ἄνδρεία καὶ ἡ δικαιοσύνη καὶ ἡ σωφροσύνη γίγνηται παρ' ὑμῖν, τοσούτῳ ἐλαττον ἔσται τό τε ἀργύριον καὶ τὸ χρυσίον καὶ τὰ ἐλεφάντινα σκεύη καὶ τὰ ἡλέκτρινα καὶ κρύσταλλος καὶ θύρον καὶ ἔβενος καὶ ὁ τῶν γυναικῶν κόσμος καὶ τὰ ποικίλματα καὶ αἱ βαφαί, καὶ ἔνυμπαντα ἀπλῶς τὰ νῦν ἐν τῇ πόλει τίμια καὶ περιμάχητα, ἐλαττόνων αὐτῶν δεήσεοθε· ὅταν δὲ ἐληλυθότες ἥτε ἐπ' ἄκρον ἀρετῆς, οὐδενός· καὶ οἰκίας μικροτέρας καὶ ἀμείνους οἰκήσετε, καὶ οὐ τοσοῦτον ὄχλον θρέψετε ἀνδραπόδων ἀργῶν καὶ πρὸς οὐδὲν χρησίμων τὸ δὲ πάντων παραδοξότατον· ὅσῳ γὰρ ἄν εὐσεβέστεροι καὶ ὅσιώτεροι γένησθε, τοσούτῳ ἐλάττων ἔσται παρ' ὑμῖν ὁ λιβανωτὸς καὶ τὰ θυμιάματα καὶ τὰ στεφανώματα, καὶ θύσετε ἐλάττους θυσίας καὶ ἀπ' ἐλάττονος δαπάνης, καὶ τὸ πᾶν πλῆθος τὸ νῦν παρ'

THIRTEENTH DISCOURSE : IN ATHENS

homes, inducing him to come either by argument or by friendship—for by money such a man cannot be induced nor by any other gifts—and after establishing him on their acropolis they ought to issue an edict bidding all the young men to resort to him regularly and associate with him, and equally the older men too, until all of them, having become enamoured of righteousness, and having learned to despise gold and silver and ivory, yea, and rich food too and perfume and the lust of the flesh, should thereafter live happy lives, and be masters first and foremost of themselves and afterwards of all other men as well.

" For only then," I continued, " will your city be great and strong and truly imperial, since at present its greatness arouses distrust and is not very secure. For," said I, " in proportion as courage, justice, and temperance increase among you, in that degree there will be less silver and gold and furniture of ivory and of amber, less of crystal and citron-wood and ebony and women's adornments and embroideries and dyes of many hues ; in short, all the things which are now considered in your city precious and worth fighting for, you will need in smaller quantities, and when you have reached the summit of virtue, not at all. And the houses in which you live will be smaller and better, and you will not support so great a throng of idle and utterly useless slaves and—the most paradoxical thing of all—the more god-fearing and pious you become, the less frankincense and fragrant offerings and garlands there will be among you, and you will offer fewer sacrifices and at less expense, and the whole multitude that is now being supported in your city

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

νῦμν τρεφόμενον πολὺ ἔλαττον ἔσται, καὶ ἡ ξύμπασα πόλις, ὥσπερ ναῦς κουφισθεῖσα, ἀνακύψει τε καὶ πολὺ ἔσται ἐλαφροτέρα καὶ ἀσφαλεστέρα.

36 ταῦτὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ Σίβυλλαν εὐρήσετε μαντευομένην νῦμν καὶ Βάκιν, εἴπερ ἀγαθὸς χρησμολόγως καὶ μάντει ἐγενέσθην. ὡς δὲ νῦν τὰ παρόντα διάκειται, χρημάτων ἔνεκα πλήθους, ἢ πάντα πανταχόθεν εἰς ἓν τοῦτον ἥθροισται τὸν τόπον, τρυφῆς ἐπικρατούσης καὶ πλεονεξίας, ὅμοιόν ἔστιν ὥσπερ ὅτε¹ τὴν τοῦ Πατρόκλου πυρὰν ἐπινήσας² ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς πολλῶν μὲν ξύλων, πολλῶν δὲ στρωμάτων³ καὶ ἐσθῆτος, ἕπι δὲ πιμελῆς τε καὶ ἐλαίου πρὸς τούτους, παρακαλεῖ τοὺς ἀνέμους σπένδων καὶ θυσίας ὑπισχνούμενος ἐλθόντας ἐμπρῆσαι

37 τε καὶ ἀνάψαι. τὰ γὰρ τοιαῦτα οὐχ ἥπτον γε πέφυκεν ἐξάπτειν τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὑβριν καὶ ἀκολασίαν.

Οὐ μέντοι ἔλεγον ὡς χαλεπὸν αὐτοῖς παιδευθῆναι, ἐπεὶ καὶ τάλλα, ἔφην, οὐδενὸς βελτίους πρότερον ὄντες ὅσα ἐβουλήθητε ράδίως ἐμάθετε· λέγω δὲ ἵππικὴν καὶ τοξικὴν καὶ ὄπλιτικὴν . . .

¹ ὅτε Geel and Jacobs : εἰ or ὁ.

² ἐπινήσας Cohoon, νήσας Arnim : κοσμήσας.

³ στρωμάτων Geel : σωμάτων.

THIRTEENTH DISCOURSE: IN ATHENS

will be much smaller; while the entire city, like a ship that has been lightened, will ride higher and be much more buoyant and safer. These same pronouncements you will find were made both by Sibylla and by Bacis,¹ if it be true that the two of them proved to be good soothsayers and seers. But as your possessions are now, on account of the great amount of wealth, all of which has been collected from all the world into this one place, luxury and covetousness being prevalent, the situation is similar to that in which Achilles, after heaping high the pyre of Patroclus with many logs of wood, with many coverlets and garments, and also with fat and olive oil in addition, summons the winds, with libations and the promise of sacrifices, to come and set it afire and burn it.² For such possessions as yours are no less likely to kindle the wanton spirit and licentiousness of human beings."

I did not, however, maintain that it was difficult for them to become educated, "for," said I, "although you have hitherto been no whit better than other men, you learned easily enough all the other things that you wished." I refer to horsemanship, archery, fighting in heavy armour . . .

¹ Neither Scylla nor Charybdis was originally the name of an individual, but the first was the designation of a type of prophetess, and the second of a type of prophet.

² See Homer, *Iliad* 23. 161-177, 192-216.

THE FOURTEENTH DISCOURSE: ON SLAVERY AND FREEDOM I

Dio begins this Discourse by saying that the majority of men do not know the real difference between slavery and freedom, and after examining for some time, finally, in § 18, states his own is the knowledge of what is allowable and what is forbidden, while slavery is the opposite. Then, identifying the free man with the king, he proceeds to prove the paradox that the king, or free man, may be such although he is kept in prison or suffers other seeming indignities.

The Discourse is very informal. Dio person up to the beginning of § 11 and discusses the question with another. This would seem to put the Discourse in the period of Dio's exile, when according to the confession in the Thirteenth Discourse his informal teaching of moral philosophy began and probably was chiefly carried on.

This Discourse along with the Fifteenth is our chief source for knowledge of the Stoic doctrine that the wise man alone is free. It is also found stated in the pseudo-Philonic treatise *Περὶ τοῦ πάντα σπουδαῖον ἐλεύθερον εἶναι* (*Every good man is free*), in Cicero's *Paradoxa Stoicorum*, Plutarch's *Περὶ εὐγενείας* (*On Nobility of Birth*), and in Epictetus, *Diatribē 4. 1*. All these passages may be derived from one common Stoic source as Kaibel says (see *Hermes*, vol. 23, 1888, p. 543, n. 3), if not from some Cynic earlier still. At least O. Hense (*Rheinisches Museum*, vol. 47, 1892, p. 219 ff.) shows that, in the treatise falsely ascribed to Philo, Bion's *Περὶ δουλείας* (*On Slavery*)¹ was used.

¹ See Stobacus 3. 2. 38.

14. ΠΕΡΙ ΔΟΥΛΕΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΑΣ Α

1 Οι ἄνθρωποι ἐπιθυμοῦσι μὲν ἐλεύθεροι εἶναι μάλιστα πάντων, καὶ φασι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν μέγιστον τῶν ἀγαθῶν, τὴν δὲ δουλείαν αἰσχιστον καὶ δυστυχέστατον ὑπάρχειν, αὐτὸ δὲ τοῦτο ὅ τι ἔστι τὸ ἐλεύθερον εἶναι ἡ ὅ τι τὸ δουλεύειν, οὐκ ἵσασιν. καὶ τοίνυν οὐδὲ ποιοῦσιν οὐδέν, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, ὅπως τὸ μὲν αἰσχρὸν καὶ χαλεπὸν ἐκφεύξονται, τὴν δουλείαν, δὲ δοκεῖ αὐτοῖς πολλοῦ ἄξιον εἶναι, κτήσονται, τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, ἀλλὰ τούναντίον ταῦτα πράττουσιν ἐξ ὧν ἀνάγκη τοὺς ἐπιτηδεύοντας διατελεῖν δουλεύοντας τὸν ἄπαντα χρόνον καὶ

2 μηδεπώποτε ἐλευθερίας ἐπιτυγχάνειν. πλὴν τούτους οὐκ ἄξιον ἵσως θαυμάσαι ὅτι οὕτε ἐλεῖν οὕτε φυλάξασθαι δύνανται ὁ τυγχάνουσιν ἀγνοοῦντες. εἰ γοῦν ἐτύγχανον ἀγνοοῦντες πρόβατον καὶ λύκον ὅ τι¹ ἔστιν ἐκάτερον αὐτοῖν, ὅμως δὲ ἥγοῦντο² τὸ μὲν ὡφέλιμον καὶ κτήσασθαι ἀγαθόν, τὸ δὲ βλαβερὸν καὶ ἀσύμφορον, οὐκ ἂν ἦν³ θαυμαστὸν οὐδέν, εἰ τὸ μὲν πρόβατον ἐφοβοῦντο καὶ ἔφευγον ἐνίστε ως λύκον, τὸν δὲ λύκον προσίεντο καὶ ὑπέμενον, νομίσαντες πρόβατον. ἡ γὰρ ἄγνοια τοιαῦτα ἐργάζεται τοὺς οὐκ εἰδότας καὶ ἀναγκάζει τάναντία φεύγειν καὶ διώκειν ὧν βούλονται καὶ τῶν συμφερόντων.

¹ τι added by Morel. ² ἥγοῦντο Reiske : ἥγοῦντο.

³ οὐκ ἂν ἦν Emperius : οὐ καλόν.

THE FOURTEENTH DISCOURSE: ON SLAVERY AND FREEDOM I

MEN desire above all things to be free and say that freedom is the greatest of blessings, while slavery is the most shameful and wretched of states; and yet they have no knowledge of the essential nature of this freedom and this slavery of which they speak. And, what is more, they do practically nothing whatever to escape the shameful and grievous thing, which is slavery, and to gain what they consider to be so valuable, that is, freedom; but on the contrary, they do the things which result in their continuing in slavery all their lives and never attaining to freedom. However, we should perhaps feel no surprise that these men are unable either to get or to avoid the thing of which they happen to be ignorant. For instance, if they happened to be ignorant as to what a sheep and a wolf are respectively, but nevertheless thought that the one was profitable and good to get while the other was harmful and unprofitable, it would not be at all surprising if they feared the sheep and fled from it at times as though it were a wolf, but let the wolf approach and awaited its coming, thinking it to be a sheep. For ignorance has this effect upon men who lack knowledge, and forces them to flee from and to pursue the opposite of what they desire to flee from and to pursue, and of what would be to their advantage.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

3 Φέρε δὴ σκεψώμεθα εἰ ἄρα τι οἱ πολλοὶ ἐπίστανται περὶ ἐλευθερίας καὶ δουλείας σαφές. ἵσως γάρ τοι μάτην αὐτοὺς αἰτιώμεθα, οἱ δὲ παντὸς μᾶλλον ταῦτα ἵσασιν.

Εἰ οὖν ἔροιτό τις αὐτοὺς ὅ τι ἔστι τὸ ἐλεύθερον εἶναι, φαῖεν ἀν ἵσως τὸ μηδενὸς ὑπήκοον, ἀλλὰ 4 πράττειν ἀπλῶς τὰ δοκοῦντα ἔαυτῷ· τὸν δὲ τοῦτο ἀποκρινάμενον ἔάν τις ἐπερωτᾷ, εἰ ἐν χορῷ χορευτὴν ὅντα μὴ προσέχειν τῷ κορυφαίῳ μηδὲ ὑπήκοον εἶναι αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ’ ἄδειν τε καὶ ἀπάδειν, ὅπως ἀν αὐτῷ ἐπίη, τοῦτο καλὸν οἴεται εἶναι καὶ ἐλευθέριον, τὸ δὲ ἐναντίον τούτου, τὸ προσέχειν καὶ πείθεσθαι τῷ ἡγεμόνι τοῦ χοροῦ, καὶ τότε ἄρχεσθαι καὶ παύεσθαι ἄδοντα ὅπόταν ἐκεῖνος κελεύσῃ, αἰσχρὸν εἶναι καὶ δουλοπρεπές, 5 οὐκ ἀν, οἷμαι, ὅμολογοῦ. οὐδὲ εἴ τις ἔρωτήσειε, πλέοντα μὴ φροντίζειν τοῦ κυβερνήτου μηδὲ ποιεῖν ἄπτ’ ἀν ἐκεῖνος εἴπη, εἰ τὸ τοιοῦτον ἐλεύθεριον οἴοιτο· οἶον κελεύσαντος καθῆσθαι ἔστάναι ἐν τῇ νηī, ἀν αὐτῷ μόνον¹ ἐπίη, καν κελεύσῃ ἀντλεῖν ποτε ἢ συνέλκειν τὰ ἴστια, μήτ’ ἀντλῆσαι μήθ’ ἄψασθαι τῶν κάλων, οὐδὲ τοῦτον εἴποι ἀν ἐλεύθερον οὐδὲ ζηλωτόν, ὅτι πράττει τὰ 6 δοκοῦντα αὐτῷ.² καὶ μὴν τούς γε στρατιώτας οὐκ ἀν φαίη δούλους εἶναι, διστι ὑπήκοοί είσι τοῦ στρατηγοῦ, καὶ τότε ἀνίστανται ὅπόταν ἐκεῖνος προστάξῃ, καὶ σῆτον αἴροῦνται καὶ ὅπλα λαμβάνουσι καὶ παρατάττονται καὶ ἐπίασι καὶ ἀναχωροῦσι οὐκ ἄλλως ἢ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ κελεύσαντος· οὐδέ

¹ μόνον Cohoon: μή.

² αὐτῷ Dindorf: αὐτῷ.

FOURTEENTH DISCOURSE : SLAVERY I

Come then, let us consider whether the majority of men really have any clear knowledge about freedom and slavery. For it is quite possible that we are criticizing them without good reason, and that they know well what these are.

Now if one were to ask them what the nature of freedom is, they would say, perhaps, that it consists in being subject to no one and acting simply in accordance with one's own judgement. But if one were to go on and ask the man who made this answer whether he thought it a fine thing, and worthy of a free man, that when he is a member of a chorus he should not pay attention to the leader nor be subject to him, but should sing in tune or out of tune just as he took the notion, and whether he thought the opposite course, namely, to pay attention and obey the director of the chorus and to begin and to stop singing only at his command, was shameful and slavish, I do not think that he would agree. And again, if one were to ask whether he thought it was characteristic of a free man, when a passenger on board a ship, to pay no attention to the captain and refuse to carry out whatever orders he should give; for instance, to stand erect in the ship when ordered to sit down, simply if he took a notion to do so; and if he were on occasion ordered to bale or help hoist the sails, neither to bale nor lay hold of the ropes; this man, too, he would not call free or enviable, because he does what seems best to himself. And surely one would not call soldiers slaves because they are subject to their general's orders and spring to their feet the moment he gives a command, and partake of food and lay hold of their weapons and fall in and advance and retire only at their general's

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

γε τοὺς κάμνοντας, ὅτι πείθονται τοῖς ἰατροῖς,
 7 οὐ διὰ τοῦτο φήσουσι δούλους εἶναι· καίτοι οὐ
 σμικρά γε οὐδὲ ῥάδια πείθονται αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ
 καὶ πεινῆν καὶ διψῆν ἐνίστε προστάτουσι· κανόν
 δόξη ποτὲ τῷ ἰατρῷ τὸν κάμνοντα δῆσαι, παραχρῆμα
 ἔδειθη, κανόν τεμέν οὐ καῦσαι, καυθήσεται καὶ
 τμηθήσεται ἐφ' ὅσον ἂν ἐκείνῳ δοκῇ· ἐὰν δὲ
 μὴ πείθηται, πάντες οἱ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τῷ ἰατρῷ
 συναγωνιοῦνται, οὐ μόνον οἱ ἐλεύθεροι, ἀλλὰ
 πολλάκις οἱ τοῦ νοσοῦντος οἰκέται αὐτοὶ κατα-
 δοῦσι τὸν δεσπότην, καὶ τὸ πῦρ κομίζουσιν, ὅπως
 8 καυθήσεται, καὶ τάλλα ὑπηρετοῦσιν. μὴ οὖν οὐ
 φῆσ ἐλεύθερον εἶναι τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον, ὅτι πολλὰ
 καὶ ἀηδῆ ἔτέρου κελεύοντος ὑπομένει; οὐ γὰρ
 δήπου τὸν Περσῶν βασιλέα Δαρεῖον οὐκ ἂν ἔφης
 ἐλεύθερον εἶναι, ἐπειδὴ καταπεσὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ
 ἵππου ἐν κυνηγεσίοις, τοῦ ἀστραγάλου ἐκχωρή-
 σαντος, ὑπῆκουε τοῖς ἰατροῖς ἔλκουσι καὶ στρεβ-
 λοῦσιν αὐτοῦ τὸν πόδα, ὅπως καταστήσεται τὸ
 ἄρθρον, καὶ ταῦτα Αἴγυπτίοις ἀνθρώποις οὐδ'
 αὐτοῖς ἔρξην, ὅπηνίκα ἀναχωρῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος
 καὶ χειμαζόμενος ἐν τῇ νηὶ πάντα ἐπείθετο τῷ
 κυβερνήτῃ καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἐκείνου γνώμην οὐκ
 ἐπέτρεπεν αὐτῷ οὐδὲ οὐδούσαι οὐδὲ μεταβῆναι.
 οὔκουν τὸ¹ μηδενὸς ἀνθρώπων ὑπακούειν οὐδὲ
 τὸ πράττειν ὃ τι ἂν τις ἐθέλῃ ἐλευθερίαν ἔτι φή-
 σουσιν εἶναι.

9 'Αλλ' ἵσως ἐροῦσιν ὅτι οὗτοι μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῷ
 συμφέροντι ὑπακούουσιν, ὡς οἱ πλέοντες τῷ

¹ οὔκουν τὸ Reiske: διοικοῦντι Μ, δοκοῦντι ΟΒ.

¹ See Herodotus 2. 84.

FOURTEENTH DISCOURSE : SLAVERY I

order. Neither will they call persons who are sick slaves because they must obey their physicians. And yet the orders which they obey are neither insignificant nor easy to carry out, but at times they order them to do without both food and drink; and if the physician decides at any time to bind the patient, he is straightaway bound; and if he decides to use the knife or cautery, the patient will be burned and cut to the extent that the physician decides is best. And if the sick man refuses to obey, all the household will help the physician to cope with him, and not the free alone, but often the sick man's domestics themselves bind their master and fetch the fire that he may suffer cautery, and give any other assistance. You do not say, do you, that this man is not free because he endures many unpleasant things at another's command? Surely you would not have denied, for instance, that Darius, the King of the Persians, was a free man when, after suffering a fall from his horse in a hunt and dislocating his ankle, he obeyed the surgeons while they pulled and twisted his foot in order to set the joint, and that too although they were Egyptians.¹ Nor, to take another instance, would you have denied that Xerxes was a free man, when on his retreat from Greece a storm arose and he while aboard the ship obeyed the captain in everything and would not permit himself against the captain's judgement even to nod or to change his position. Therefore they will not persist in maintaining that rendering obedience to no man or doing whatever one likes constitutes freedom.

But perhaps they will counter by saying that these men obey for their own advantage, just as people

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

κυβερνήτη καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται τῷ στρατηγῷ,
καὶ οἱ κάμινοντες δὲ τῷ ἰατρῷ διὰ τοῦτο πείθονται.
οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄλλ' ἄπτα προστάττουσιν οὗτοι ἢ τὰ
συμφέροντα αὐτοῖς. οἱ δέ γε δεσπόται τοῖς δού-
λοις οὐ ταῦτα¹ ἐπιτάττουσιν ἀ ἐκείνοις συνοίσει,
10 ἄλλ' ὅπερ αὐτοῖς οἴονται λυσιτελεῖν. τί δή;
ἄρα γε συμφέρει τῷ δεσπότῃ τὸ τεθνάναι τὸν
οἰκέτην ἢ νοσεῖν ἢ πονηρὸν εἶναι; οὐδεὶς ἀν-
εἴποι, ἄλλὰ τούναντίον, οἶμαι, τό τε ζῆν καὶ
ὑγιαίνειν καὶ χρηστὸν εἶναι. τὰ αὐτὰ δὲ ταῦτα
φανεῖται καὶ τῷ οἰκέτῃ συμφέροντα· ὥστε καὶ
τῷ οἰκέτῃ ὁ δεσπότης οὐδὲν ἔττον, ἀνπερ ἔχη-
νοῦν, τὰ συμφέροντα ἐκείνῳ προστάξει· ταῦτα
γὰρ καὶ αὐτῷ φαίνεται συμφέρειν.

11 Ἐλλὰ ὑπὲρ ὅτου ἀν τις ἀργύριον καταβάλῃ,
οὗτος ἐξ ἀνάγκης δοῦλος ἐστιν.

Οὕκουν πολλοὶ περὶ πολλῶν καὶ ἐλευθέρων
καταβεβλήκασιν ἀργύριον, οἱ μὲν πολεμίοις, οἱ
δὲ λησταῖς λύτρα διδόντες, οἱ δέ τινες τὴν αὐτῶν
τιμὴν καταβεβλήκασι τοῖς δεσπόταις; καὶ οὐ
δῆπον δοῦλοι εἰσιν οὗτοι αὐτῶν.

12 Ἐλλὰ μὴν διν ἀν ἐξῆ ἐτέρῳ μαστιγῶσαι καὶ
δῆσαι καὶ ἀνελεῖν καὶ ἄλλο ὃ τι ἀν βούληται
ἐργάσασθαι, οὗτος ἐκείνου δοῦλος ἐστιν.

Τί δέ; οὐκ ἐξεστὶ τοῖς λησταῖς ταῦτα ποιεῖν
τοὺς ληφθέντας; καὶ οὐδὲν ἔττον οὐ δοῦλοι
εἰσιν. τί δέ; τοῖς δικασταῖς οὐκ ἐξεστὶ τιμᾶν

¹ ταῦτα Reiske : τὰ αὐτὰ.

¹ For the argument that it is of advantage for the slave to have a master, just as it is for the master to have a slave, cf. Aristotle, *Politics*, Book I, cap. 5.

FOURTEENTH DISCOURSE : SLAVERY I

on shipboard obey the captain and soldiers their general, and that the sick for this reason give heed to their physician, that they prescribe nothing but what is for the advantage of their patients. But masters, they will assert, do not order their slaves to do what will benefit *them*, but what they think will be of profit to themselves. Well then, is it to the master's advantage that his servant should die or be ill or be a knave? No one would say so, but would affirm that the contrary is to his advantage, namely that he should keep alive and well and should be an honest man. And these same things will be found to be for the advantage of the servant as well; so that the master, if indeed he is wise, will order his servant to do that which is equally to the servant's advantage; for that will prove to be of advantage to himself as well.¹

—But the man for whom one pays down money is of necessity a slave.

Dio. But have not many men paid down money for many who are free, when they have paid a ransom, at one time to enemies in warfare and at another to pirates, and some few have paid their own value to their masters? And yet surely these last are not slaves to themselves!²

—No, but whenever another has the power to have a man scourged or imprisoned or put to death, or have anything else done to him that he wishes, then that man is the slave of the other.

Dio. How is that? Do not pirates have the power to treat the men they have captured in this way? And yet none the less the captives are not slaves. Then again, have not judges the power to impose

² At Athens and Rome slaves could buy their freedom.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

καὶ δεσμοῦ καὶ θανάτου καὶ ἄλλου ὅτου ἀν βούλωνται πολλοῖς τῶν κρινομένων; καὶ οὐδὲ δῆπον δοῦλοι εἰσιν οὗτοι. εἰ δὲ μίαν ἡμέραν, ἐν ᾧ κρίνεται ἔκαστος, οὐδὲν τοῦτο· καὶ γὰρ μίαν ἡμέραν ἥδη τις λέγεται γενέσθαι δοῦλος;

13 Ἀλλὰ μὴν ἐνὶ λόγῳ συλλαβόντα χρή ἀποφήνασθαι ὡς ὅτῳ μὲν ἔξεστιν ὁ βούλεται πράττειν, ἐλεύθερός ἐστιν, ὅτῳ δὲ μὴ ἔξεστι, δοῦλος.

Οὐ δὴ¹ ἐπὶ τῶν πλεόντων οὐδὲ τῶν καμνόντων οὐδὲ τῶν στρατευομένων οὐδὲ τῶν μανθανόντων γράμματα ἢ κιθαρίζειν ἢ παλαίειν ἢ ἄλλην τινὰ τέχνην ἔρεις αὐτῷ· οὐ γὰρ ἔξεστι τούτοις πράττειν ὡς αὐτοὶ ἐθέλουσιν, ἀλλ' ὡς ὁ τε κυβερνήτης καὶ ἰατρὸς καὶ διδάσκαλος προστάττει.² οὐ τούτου οὐδὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔξεστιν ἀ ἐθέλουσι ποιεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐάν τις παρὰ τοὺς νόμους τοὺς κειμένους πράττῃ, ζημιώσεται.

14 Οὐκοῦν ὅσα μὴ ἀπείρηται ὑπὸ τῶν νόμων μηδὲ προστέτακται, ὁ περὶ τούτων ἔχων αὐτὸς τὴν ἔξουσίαν τοῦ πράττειν ὡς βούλεται ἢ μὴ ἐλεύθερος, ὁ δὲ τούναντίον ἀδύνατος δοῦλος.

Τί δέ³; οἵει σοι ἔξειναι, ὅσα μὴ ἀπείρηται μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν νόμων ἐγγράφως, αἰσχρὰ δὲ ἄλλως δοκεῖ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ ἀτοπα· λέγω δὲ οἶον τελωνεῖν ἢ πορνοβοσκεῖν ἢ ἄλλα ὅμοια πράττειν;

Οὐ μὰ Δία φαίνη ἀν οὐδὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἔξειναι τοῖς ἐλευθέροις. καὶ γὰρ περὶ τούτων ἐπίκειται

¹ οὐ δὴ Armin: οὐδὲ. ² προστάττει Valesius: πράττει.
³ δὲ Dindorf: δαλ.

FOURTEENTH DISCOURSE : SLAVERY I

the penalty of imprisonment or death or anything else they wish upon many of those who are before them for trial? And yet surely these men are not slaves. But if they are slaves for the one day during which they each are on trial, this means nothing; for is a man really ever said to have been a slave for one day?

—But surely we may put the matter briefly and declare that whoever has the power to do whatever he wishes is free, and that whoever has not that power is a slave.

Dio. No, you cannot say this in the case of those on board ship nor of the sick either, nor of those serving in the field, nor of those learning to read and write or to play the harp or to wrestle or to acquire any other art; for these have not the right to follow their own preferences, but must act as the captain, physician, or teacher, as the case may be, instructs. If that is so, then men in general are not allowed to do what they wish, but if they violate the established laws, they will be punished.

—Then I say that the man who has the power to act or not, just as he pleases, in regard to those matters which are not forbidden by the laws or enjoined by them, is free, and that the man who on the contrary lacks that power is a slave.

Dio. Well then, do you think that it is permitted to *you* to do all things, which, while they are not expressly forbidden by the laws, yet are regarded as base and unseemly by mankind? I mean, for example, collecting taxes, or keeping a brothel, or doing other such things.

—O no, indeed. I should say that it is not permissible for the free to do such things either. And

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

ζημία τὸ μισεῖσθαι ἢ δυσχεραίνεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

15 Τί δέ; τοῖς ἀκολάστοις ἀνθρώποις, ὅσα ποιοῦσι διὰ τὴν ἀκολασίαν, καὶ τοῖς ἀνοήτοις, ὅσα διὰ τὴν ἄγνοιαν,¹ ἢ οὐσίας ἀμελοῦντες ἢ σώματος ἢ ἀδίκως καὶ ἀγνωμόνως προσφερόμενοι ἀλλήλοις, οὐ πάντα ταῦτα ἐπιζήμια τοῖς ποιοῦσίν ἔστιν; ἢ γὰρ εἰς τὸ σῶμα ἢ τὴν οὐσίαν ἢ τὸ μέγιστον τὴν ψυχὴν τὴν αὐτῶν βλάπτονται.

Τοῦτο μὲν ἀληθὲς λέγεις.

Οὔκουν² οὐδὲ ταῦτα ἔξεστι πράττειν;

Οὐ γὰρ οὖν.

16 Ἐνὶ δὴ λόγῳ τὰ μὲν φαῦλα καὶ ἄποπα καὶ ἀσύμφορα οὐκ ἔξεστι πράττειν, τὰ δὲ δίκαια καὶ συμφέροντα καὶ ἀγαθὰ χρή φάναι ὅτι πριστήκει τε καὶ ἔξεστιν;

Ἐμοὶ γοῦν δοκεῖ.

Οὐκοῦν οὐδενὶ τά τε φαῦλα καὶ ἀσύμφορα ποιεῖν ἀζήμιον ἔστιν οὔτε Ἑλληνι οὔτε βαρβάρῳ . . .³ οὔτε ὑπὲρ ὅτου τις τιμὴν δέδωκεν ἀργύριον;

Οὐ γὰρ οὖν.

17 Τὰ δέ γε ἐναντία πᾶσιν ὁμοίως ἐφεῖται, καὶ οἱ μὲν τὰ ἐφειμένα πράττοντες ἀζήμιοι διατελοῦσι, οἱ δὲ τὰ κεκωλυμένα ζημιοῦνται. ἄλλοι οὖν δοκοῦσί σοι πράττειν ἂν ἔξεστιν ἢ οἱ ἐπιστάμενοι ταῦτα, καὶ ἄλλοι τάναντία ἢ οἱ ἀγνοοῦντες;

Οὐδαμῶς.

¹ ἄγνοιαν Capps: ἄνοιαν.

² οὔκουν Dindorf: οὐκοῦν.

³ After βαρβάρῳ Arnim supposes a lacuna in which Dio opposed the buyer to the man who was bought with money.

FOURTEENTH DISCOURSE : SLAVERY I

indeed for these acts the penalty fixed is to be hated or abominated by men.

Dio. Well then, in the case of intemperate men, whatever acts they commit by reason of their intemperance, and in the case of the ignorant all that they do owing to their ignorance in neglecting either their property or their person or in treating their fellows unjustly and inconsiderately, do not all these things impose a penalty upon those that do them? For they are injured either in their person or in their property or, most serious of all, in their own soul.

—What you now say is true.

Dio. Therefore it is not permissible to do these things either?

—No, certainly not.

Dio. In a word, then, it is not permissible to do mean and unseemly and unprofitable things, but things that are just and profitable and good we must say that it is both proper and permissible to do?

—It seems so to me at any rate.

Dio. Therefore no one may do that which is mean and unprofitable without suffering the penalty, whether he be Greek or barbarian . . . or a man for whom one has paid a price in cash?

—No, indeed.

Dio. But the opposite things are allowed to all alike, and those who do what is allowed continue free from penalty, while those who do what is forbidden are punished. Now do you think that any others do what is permissible except those who know what that is, or that any others do the opposite except those who do not know?

—Oh, no!

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

Οὐκοῦν οἱ φρόνιμοι ὅσα βούλονται πράττειν,
ἔξεστιν αὐτοῖς· οἱ δὲ ἄφρονες ἃ βούλονται οὐκ
ἔξὸν ἐπιχειροῦσι πράττειν· ὥστε ἀνάγκη τοὺς
μὲν φρονίμους ἐλευθέρους τε εἶναι καὶ ἔξεναι
αὐτοῖς ποιεῖν ὡς ἐθέλουσι, τοὺς δὲ ἀνοήτους δούλους
τε εἶναι καὶ ἃ μὴ ἔξεστιν αὐτοῖς ταῦτα ποιεῖν;

¹Ισως.

18 Οὐκοῦν καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν χρὴ λέγειν ἐπιστήμην
τῶν ἐφειμένων¹ καὶ τῶν κεκωλυμένων, τὴν δὲ
δουλείαν ἄγνοιαν² ὥν τε ἔξεστι καὶ ὥν μὴ. ἐκ
δὲ τούτου τοῦ λόγου οὐδὲν ἄν κωλύοι τὸν μέγαν
βασιλέα πάνυ μεγάλην τιάραν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς
ἔχοντα δοῦλον εἶναι καὶ μὴ ἔξεναι αὐτῷ πράττειν
μηδὲν ὥν ποιεῖ· πάντα γάρ ἐπιζημίας καὶ ἀσυμ-
φόρως πράξει· ἄλλον δέ τινα διοῖλον διοκοῦντι καὶ
ὄνομαζόμενον, οὐχ ἅπαξ, ἄλλὰ πολλάκις, ἄν οὕτω
τύχῃ, πεπραμένον, εἰ δὲ ἄρα τοῦτο συμβαίνοι, πέδας
πάνυ παχείας ἔχοντα, μᾶλλον ἐλεύθερον εἶναι τοῦ
μεγάλου βασιλέως.

19 Ἐμοὶ μὲν σφόδρα δοκεῖ ἄποπον, εἰ πέδας
ἔχων τις ἡ ἐστιγμένος ἡ ἐν μυλῶνι ἀλῶν ἐλεύθε-
ρος ἔσται μᾶλλον τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως.

Τί δέ; ἐν Θράκῃ γέγονας;

¹Εγώγε.

Ἐώρακας οὖν ἐκεῖ τὰς γυναικας τὰς ἐλευθέρας
στιγμάτων μεστάς, καὶ τοσούτῳ πλείονα ἔχουσας
στίγματα καὶ ποικιλώτερα ὅσῳ ἄν βελτίους καὶ
ἐκ βελτιόνων δοκῶσιν;³

¹ ἐφειμένων Reiske: ἐφιεμένων. ² ἄγνοιαν T, ἄνοιαν UBM.

³ δοκῶσιν Emperius: δοκοῦσιν.

FOURTEENTH DISCOURSE: SLAVERY I

Dio. Therefore, the wise are permitted to do anything whatsoever they wish, while the foolish attempt to do what they wish although it is not permissible; so that it follows of necessity that while the wise are free and are allowed to act as they wish, the ignorant are slaves and do that which is not allowable for them?

—Perhaps.

Dio. Therefore we are forced to define freedom as the knowledge of what is allowable and what is forbidden, and slavery as ignorance of what is allowed and what is not. According to this definition there is nothing to prevent the Great King, while wearing a very tall tiara upon his head, from being a slave and not being allowed to do anything that he does; for every act that he performs will bring a penalty and be unprofitable. But some other man who is regarded as a slave and is so called, who has not once but often, if it so chance, been sold, and if it should so happen, wears very heavy fetters, will be more free than the Great King.

—To me it appears exceeding strange that one who wears fetters or has been branded or who grinds in a mill will be more free than the Great King.

Dio. Well, now have you ever been in Thrace?

—Yes.

Dio. Then you have seen the women there, the free women, covered with branded marks, and having the more such marks and the more elaborate in proportion to their social standing and that of the families to which they belong?¹

and 15. 20, Dio refers to the custom of foreigners to prove his own view. To do this was a practice of the Cynics, as Weber, *De Dione Chrysostomo Cynicorum Sectatore*, pp. 127–133, shows.

Tí oὖν δὴ τοῦτο;

20 “Οτι βασίλισσαν, ὡς ἔοικεν, οὐδὲν κωλύει ἐστιγμένην εἶναι· βασιλέα δὲ οἵει κωλύειν; σὺ τούνν οὐδὲ περὶ ἐκείνου τοῦ ἔθνους ἀκήκοας, παρ' οἷς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν πύργῳ πάινον ὑψηλῷ φυλάττεται, καὶ οὐκ ἔξεστιν αὐτῷ καταβῆναι ἀπὸ τοῦ πύργου; εἰ δέ γε ἀκηκόεις, ἥπιστω μὲν ὅτι καὶ περιειργμένον ἔστιν εἶναι βασιλέα.¹ καὶ τυχόν ἥκουες ἀνέκεινων τῶν ἀνθρώπων θαυμαζόντων, εἰ διηγοῦν σὺ περὶ τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως, καὶ ἀπιστούντων ὅτι ἔστι τις βασιλεὺς περιειργμένων ἐφ' ἄρματος καὶ ὅποι βούλεται ἀπιών.

’Αλλὰ δεδεμένον οὐκ ἀποδεῖξεις βασιλέα.

21 Οὐ τῶν γε ἀνθρώπων τυχόν· ἐπεὶ ὅ γε τῶν θεῶν βασιλεὺς ὁ πρῶτος καὶ πρεσβύτατος δέδεται, ὡς φασιν, εἰ χρὴ πιστεύειν ‘Ησιόδῳ τε καὶ ‘Ομήρῳ καὶ ἄλλοισι σοφοῖς ἀνδράσιν, οἵ περὶ Κρόνουν ταῦτα λέγουσι, καὶ μὰ Δία οὐχ ὑπ’ ἔχθρον ἀδίκως παθόντα τοῦτο, ἀλλ’ ὑπὸ τοῦ δικαιοτάτου καὶ φιλτάτου, δῆλον ὅτι ὡς βασιλικὰ καὶ συμφέροντα
22 ἔκεινων δρῶντος. οἱ δὲ τοῦτο μὲν ἀγνοοῦσι καὶ οὐδέποτ’ ἀν οἰηθεῖν πτωχὸν ἢ δεσμώτην ἢ ἀδοξον γενέσθαι βασιλέα, καίτοι τὸν ‘Οδυσσέα ἀκούοντες ὅτι πτωχὸς ὢν καὶ τοὺς μνηστῆρας αἰτῶν οὐδὲν ἥπτον βασιλεὺς ἦν καὶ τῆς οἰκίας κύριος· ὁ δὲ

¹ περιειργμένον ἔστιν εἶναι βασιλέα Rosis: δεδεμένον ἔστιν εἶναι βασιλέα περιειργμένον.

¹ A reference to the Mossynocerians, i.e. dwellers in mossyns or wooden towers, who lived on the south shore of the Euxine or Black Sea. See Xenophon, *Anabasis* 5. 4 and especially § 26, Diodorus Siculus 14. 30.

FOURTEENTH DISCOURSE: SLAVERY I

—Now, pray, what does this signify?

Dio. That, as it seems, there is nothing to prevent a queen from being tattooed; but do you think that there is anything to prevent a king? And further, have you never heard of that race, either, where the king is kept under guard in a very high tower and may not descend from that tower?¹ But, if you had heard, you would have understood that it is possible for a man to be king even if kept closely confined. And you might perhaps have heard those people expressing surprise if you had tried to tell them about the Persian King, and refusing to believe that there is such a thing as a king who drives about in a chariot and goes wherever he wishes.

—But you cannot give an instance of a king who is in bonds.

Dio. No king of men, perhaps, and yet the King of the Gods, the first and eldest one, is in bonds, they say, if we are to believe Hesiod and Homer and other wise men who tell this tale about Cronus, and indeed he does not receive this treatment unjustly from a personal enemy, but from one most just who loved him dearly,² who evidently treats him thus because it is fit treatment for a king and profitable to him. But they do not know this and would never imagine that a beggar or a prisoner or man without repute was once king, although they hear that Odysseus, for all his being a beggar and begging of the suitors, was none the less a king and the owner of the house,

² The reference is to Zeus, who, according to one version of the myth, kept his father Cronus in bonds. According to another version Cronus is now enthroned on the Isles of the Blest as ruler of the Titans. See Hesiod, *Works and Days* 169 ff., Pindar, *Olympian Odes* 2. 70 ff.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

Αντίνους καὶ ὁ Εὐρύμαχος, οὓς "Ομηρος ὠνόμαζε βασιλέας, ἄθλιοι καὶ δυστυχεῖς· ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν, ὡς ἔφην, ἀγνοοῦσι· σημεῖα δὲ αὐτοῖς περιτιθέασι τιάρας καὶ σκῆπτρα καὶ διαδήματα, μὴ λάθωσι βασιλεῖς ὅντες· ὥσπερ, οἶμαι, τοῖς βοσκήμασι χαρακτῆρας ἐπιβάλλουσιν οἱ δεσπόται, ὅπως 23 ἐπίσημα ἔσται. τοιγαροῦν ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς ὅπως μὲν ἔξει μόνος ὄρθην τὴν τιάραν ἐφρόντιζεν, καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος τοῦτο ἐποίησεν, εὐθὺς ἐκέλευσεν ἀποθνήσκειν αὐτόν, ὡς οὐ καλὸν¹ οὐδὲ συμφέρον ἐν τοσαύταις μυριάσιν ἀνθρώπων δύο εἶναι φοροῦντας ὄρθας² τιάρας· ὅπως δὲ τὴν γυνώμην ὄρθην 24 ἔξει καὶ μηδεὶς ἄλλος φρονήσει αὐτοῦ³ σοφώτερον οὐδὲν αὐτῷ ἔμελεν. μὴ οὖν, ὥσπερ τῆς βασιλείας τῆς τότε τοιαῦτα ὑπῆρχε σημεῖα, καὶ νῦν δέη⁴ τῆς ἐλευθερίας τοιαῦτα ὑπάρχειν σύμβολα καὶ βαδίζειν πᾶλον ἔχοντα ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς, ἄλλως δὲ οὐ δυνησόμεθα γνῶναι τὸν ἐλεύθερον ἢ τὸν δοῦλον.

¹ οὐ καλὸν Wilamowitz: οὐκ ἐνὸν.

² ὄρθας added by Casaubon.

³ αὐτοῦ Capps: αὐτοῦ.

⁴ δέη Emperius: δὴ BM, δεῖ U.

FOURTEENTH DISCOURSE : SLAVERY I

while Antinous and Eurymachus, whom Homer named ‘kings,’ were miserable and unfortunate wretches. But this, as I said, they do not know, and as badges of royalty they clothe themselves with tiaras and sceptres and crowns so that none may fail to know that they are kings; just as, I imagine, owners mark their cattle to make them easily distinguishable. This undoubtedly is the reason why the King of the Persians ordained that he alone should wear his tiara upright; and if anyone else did this, he straightway ordered his execution, in the belief that it was not good or advantageous that in the midst of so many myriads of people two men should wear tiaras upright; but that he should have his mind upright and that no one should have greater wisdom than himself, for this he had no concern. So I fear that just as in those days there were such symbols of royalty as we have described, so now also there ought to be similar badges to mark the free man, and that he ought to walk abroad wearing a felt skull-cap,¹ else we shall not be able to distinguish between the free man and the slave.

¹ The *πιλός*, the forerunner of the modern liberty-cap, was worn by the Roman freedmen as a mark of their newly acquired freedom and by all the people at the Saturnalia. Cf. also Persius 3. 106 *ad pillos vocare*.

THE FIFTEENTH DISCOURSE: ON SLAVERY AND FREEDOM II

This Discourse, just like the preceding one, deals with the distinction between freedom and slavery, and for the same reasons may be assigned to the period of Dio's exile or later. Dio begins by reporting an informal debate on this question between two men, who from §§ 3, 5, and 7 we may suppose were Athenians. At the end of their debate Dio in § 24 gives the reasoned opinion of the audience that when one human being gets lawful possession of another with the right to use him as he likes, then the second man is the slave of the first. After this the question is raised as to what constitutes valid possession.

The first speaker (indicated by the letter *A*) is just such another man as the slave Syriscus in the *Epitrepones* of Menander. Both are voluble aggressive debaters with a wealth of illustrations drawn from mythology and tragedy to enforce their points.

From an examination of Diogenes Laertius 2. 31, 6. 1, 6. 4, 6. 15 it has been inferred that Dio drew from Antisthenes for this Discourse. See Wegehaupt, *op. cit.*, pp. 64-65.

15. ΠΕΡΙ ΔΟΥΛΕΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΑΣ Β

1 Ἀλλὰ μὴν ἔναγχος παρεγενόμην τισὶ διαμ-
φισθητοῦσι περὶ δουλείας καὶ ἐλευθερίας, οὐκ
ἐπὶ δικαιοστῶν οὐδὲ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ, οὐτωσὶ δὲ κατ'
οἰκίαν, ἐπὶ χρόνον πάμπολων. καὶ παρῆσαν
ἔκατέρῳ τοῖν ἀνδροῖν οὐκ ὀλίγοι σπουδάζοντες.
ἔτυγχανον γὰρ ὑπὲρ ἄλλων πρότερον ἀντιλέγοντες,
ὡς ἔμοὶ δοκοῦσιν ἡττώμενος δὲ ἐν τοῖς λόγοις
ἄτερος καὶ διαπορῶν εἰς λοιδορίαν ἐτράπετο,
ῶσπερ εἴωθε τοῦτο συμβαίνειν πολλάκις, καὶ
ῶνειδισεν οὐχ ὡς¹ ἐλεύθερον ὅντα τὸν ἔτερον.
καὶ ὃς πάνυ πράως ἐμειδίασέ τε καὶ εἶπε.

2 Πόθεν δέ; ἔστιν, ὡς ἄριστε, εἰδέναι ὅστις
δοῦλος ἢ δοτις ἐλεύθερος;

Ναὶ μὰ Δία, ἔφη· ἐπίσταμαι γοῦν ἐμαυτὸν
μὲν ἐλεύθερον ὅντα καὶ τούτους ἄπαντας, σοὶ δὲ
οὐδὲν προσῆκον ἐλευθερίας.

Καὶ τινες τῶν παρόντων ἐγέλασαν. καὶ ὃς
οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον ἡσχύνθη, ἀλλ' ὡσπερ οἱ ἀνδρεῖοι²
ἀλεκτρυόνες πρὸς τὴν πληγὴν ἐπεγείρονται καὶ
θαρροῦσιν, κάκεῖνος ἐπηγέρθη καὶ ἐθάρρησε πρὸς
τὴν λοιδορίαν, καὶ ἥρετο αὐτὸν ὅπόθεν τοῦτο
ἐπίσταται τὸ περί τε αὐτοῦ καὶ περὶ ἐκείνου.

¹ οὐχ ὡς successfully defended by Wifstrand.

² ἀνδρεῖοι Emperius: ἄνδρες οἱ Μ, nothing in UB.

THE FIFTEENTH DISCOURSE: ON SLAVERY AND FREEDOM II

RECENTLY, I assure you, I was present when two men were disputing at great length about slavery and freedom, not before judges or in the market-place, but at their ease at home, taking a long time about it; and each of the two men had a considerable number of warm adherents. For they had been debating other questions before that, as is my impression; and the one who was worsted in the debate, being at a loss for arguments, became abusive, as often happens in such cases, and taunted the other with not being a freeman. Whereupon the first very gently smiled and said:

A. "But how can you say that? Is it possible, my good friend, to know who is a slave, or who is free?"

B. "Yes, it certainly is," replied the other. "I know at any rate that I myself am free and that all these men here are, but that you have no lot or share in freedom."

At this some of those present laughed, and yet the first man was not one whit more abashed, but just as gallant cocks are aroused at the blow of their masters and take courage, so he too was aroused and took courage at the insult, and asked his opponent where he got his knowledge about the two of them.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

3 "Οτι, ἔφη, τὸν μὲν ἐμαυτοῦ πατέρα ἐπίσταμαι Ἀθηναῖον δύντα, εἴπερ τις ἄλλος, τὸν δὲ σὸν οἰκέτην τοῦ δεῖνος, εἰπὼν τοῦτο.

Καὶ ὅσ, Τί οὖν, εἶπε, κατὰ τοῦτο κωλύει με ἐν Κυνοσάργει ἀλείφεσθαι μετὰ τῶν νόθων, εἴπερ ἐκ μητρὸς ἐλευθέρας, ἵσως δὲ καὶ ἀστῆς, τυγχάνω γεγονὼς καὶ πατρὸς οὐ σὺ φῆς; ἢ οὐ πολλαὶ ἀσταὶ γυναικεῖς δι’ ἐρημίαν τε καὶ ἀπορίαν αἱ μὲν ἐκ ξένων ἐκύησαν, αἱ δὲ ἐκ δούλων, τινὲς μὲν ἀγνοοῦσαι τοῦτο, τινὲς δὲ καὶ ἐπιστάμεναι; καὶ οὐδεὶς δοῦλος ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ μόνον οὐκ Ἀθηναῖος, τῶν οὕτως γεννηθέντων.

4 'Αλλ' ἔγώ σου, ἔφη, καὶ τὴν μητέρα ἐπίσταμαι ὁμόδουλον τοῦ πατρός.

Ἐλευ, ἔφη· τὴν δὲ σαυτοῦ οἰσθα;

Πάνυ μὲν οὖν ἀστὴν ἐξ ἀστῶν καὶ προΐκα ἴκανὴν ἐπενηγμένην.

Ἡ καὶ ἔχοις ἄν ὁμόσας εἰπεῖν ὅτι¹ ἐξ οὐ φησιν ἐκείνη, ἐκ τούτου γέγονας; ὁ μὲν γὰρ Τηλέμαχος οὐ πάνυ ἡξίου διατείνεσθαι ὑπὲρ Πηνελόπης τῆς Ἰκαρίου, σφόδρα σώφρονος δοκούσης γυναικός, ὅτι ἀληθῆ λέγει τὸν Ὁδυσσέα ἀποφαίνουσα αὐτοῦ πατέρα· σὺ δὲ οὐ μόνον

¹ ὅτι Cobet : εἰ M, nothing in UB.

¹ A gymnasium sacred to Heracles which was outside of Athens and for the use of those who were not of pure Athenian blood. Here Antisthenes, the founder of the Cynic school taught. Since bastards no longer used this *gymnasion* in the time of Demosthenes (see Hirzel, *Der Diatrieg* 2. 103. 2 for references), the assumed time of this dialogue is to be thought of as earlier.

FIFTEENTH DISCOURSE : SLAVERY II

B. "Because," said he, "I know that my father is an Athenian, if any man is, while yours is the slave of so-and-so," mentioning his name.

A. "According to this, then," said the first man, "what is to prevent me from anointing myself in the Cynosarges¹ along with the bastards, if I really am the son of a free-born mother—who is, perhaps, a citizen into the bargain—and of the father whom you mention? Have not many women who are citizens, embarrassed by the scarcity of eligible men, been got with child either by foreigners or by slaves, sometimes not knowing the fact, but sometimes also with full knowledge of it? And of the children thus begotten none is a slave, but only a non-Athenian."²

"Well, in your case," he rejoined, "I myself know that your mother is a slave in the same household as your father."

"Very well!" said the first man, "Do you know who your own mother is?"

"Why certainly; a citizen born of citizens, who brought to her husband a pretty good dowry too."

"Could you actually take your oath that you are the son of the father of whom she says that you are? Telemachus, you know, did not care at all to insist in support of Penelope, the daughter of Icarius, who was regarded as a very chaste woman, that she spoke the truth when she declared that Odysseus was his father.³ But you, not only in support of yourself

² In 451-0 B.C. the Athenians passed a law that no child should be admitted to citizenship whose father and mother were not Athenian citizens married in accordance with the laws.

³ See Homer, *Odyssey* l. 215 ff.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

ὑπὲρ σαυτοῦ ἄν¹ καὶ τῆς σῆς μητρός, ἐὰν κελεύσῃ
σέ τις, δύμόσαις, ὡς² ἔοικεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ δούλης
ἡστιωσοῦν, ἐξ ὅτου ποτὲ ἐκύησεν, ὥσπερ ἦν
5 λέγεις ἐμὴν εἶναι μητέρα. ἀδύνατον γάρ σοι
δοκεῖ εἶναι ἐξ ἄλλου ἀνδρὸς κυνῆσαι ἐλευθέρου ἦ
καὶ τοῦ αὐτῆς δεσπότου; οὐ πολλοὶ Ἀθηναίων
συγγίγνονται θεραπαίναις αὐτῶν, οἵ μέν τινες
κρύφα, οἵ δὲ καὶ φανερῶς; οὐ γάρ δίπου βελτίους
εἰσὶ πάντες τοῦ Ἡρακλέους, ὃς οὐδὲ τῇ Ἱαρδάνου
δούλῃ συγγενέσθαι ἀπηξίωσεν, ἐξ ἣς ἐγένοντο
6 οἱ Σάρδεων βασιλεῖς. ἔτι δὲ οὐ δοκεῖ σοι, ὡς
ἔοικε, Κλυταιμήστρα, Τυνδάρεω μὲν θυγάτηρ,
γυνὴ δὲ Ἀγαμέμνονος, μὴ μόνον Ἀγαμέμνονι
συνεῖναι τῷ αὐτῆς ἀνδρὶ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀποδημήσαντος
ἐκείνου Αἰγίσθῳ συγγενέσθαι, καὶ Ἀερόπη ἦ
Ἀτρέως γυνὴ τὴν Θυέστου προσδέξασθαι δυμίλιαν,
καὶ ἄλλαι πολλαὶ καὶ πάλαι καὶ νῦν ἐνδόξων καὶ
πλουσίων ἀνδρῶν γυναῖκες ἐτέροις συγγίγνεσθαι
καὶ παιδας ἐνίστε ἐξ ἐκείνων ποιεῖσθαι; ἦν δὲ
σὺ λέγεις θεράπαιναν οὕτως πάνυ ἀκριβῶς φυλάττειν
τὰ πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν αὐτῆς, ὥστε μὴ ἄν ἐτέρῳ
7 συγγενέσθαι. ἔτι δὲ καὶ περὶ σαυτοῦ καὶ περὶ
ἐμοῦ διαβεβαιοῦ ὡς ἐκάτερος ἡμῶν ἐστι τῆς
δοκούσης καὶ λεγομένης μητρός. καίτοι πολλοὺς
Ἀθηναίων ἔχοις ἄν εἰπεῖν καὶ τῶν πάνυ γνωρίμων,
οὐ ἐφάνησαν υστερον οὐ μόνον πατρός, ἀλλὰ
καὶ μητρός, οὐχ ἡς ἐλέγοντο, ὑποβολιμαῖοί ποθεν

¹ ἄν Geel: ἀλλὰ UB, nothing in M.

² δύμόσαις ὡς Geel: δύμσαι ἵσως.

¹ See Herodotus 1. 7.

FIFTEENTH DISCOURSE: SLAVERY II

and of your mother, would take oath apparently, if anyone should bid you, but in regard to any slave woman as to who the man was by whom she was got with child, such a slave woman as you say that my mother was. Pray, does it seem to you impossible that she should have been got with child by some other man, a freeman, or even by her own master? Do not many Athenian men have intercourse with their maidservants, some of them secretly, but others quite openly? For surely it cannot be that every Greek is superior to Heracles, who did not think it beneath him to have intercourse even with the slave woman of Iardanus, who became the mother of the kings of Sardis.¹ And further, you do not believe, as it seems, that Clytemnestra, the daughter of Tyndareüs and the wife of Agamemnon, not only lived with Agamemnon, her own husband, but also, when he was away, had relations with Aegisthus, and that Aeropê, the wife of Atreus, accepted the advances of Thyestes, and that many other wives of distinguished and wealthy men in both ancient and modern times have had relations with other men and sometimes have had children by them? But she who you say was a maidservant was so scrupulously faithful to her own husband that she would not have had relations with any other man! And further, in regard to yourself and me as well you asseverate that each of us was born of the woman who is reputed to be and is called his mother. And yet you might name many Athenians, and very prominent ones too, who turned out later not only not to have been the sons of the father but not even those of the mother to whom they were attributed, having been supposititious children of unknown origin who had

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

τραφέντες. καὶ ταῦτα σὺ ἔκάστοτε ὄρᾶς δεικνύμενα καὶ λεγόμενα ὑπὸ τῶν κωμῳδοδιδασκάλων καὶ ἐν ταῖς τραγῳδίαις, καὶ ὅμως οὐδὲν ἥπτον ἴσχυρίζη καὶ περὶ σαυτοῦ καὶ περὶ ἐμοῦ, ὡς εὖ

8 εἰδὼς ὅπως γεγόναμεν καὶ ἐκ τίνων. οὐκ οἰσθα, ἔφη, ὅτι κακηγορίας¹ δίδωσιν ὁ νόμος γράψασθαι τοῦτον, ὃς ἀν βλασφημῆ τινα οὐκ ἔχων ἀποδεῖξαι περὶ ὧν λέγει σαφὲς οὐδέν;

Καὶ ὅς, Ἐπίσταμαι γάρ, ἔφη, ὅτι αἱ μὲν ἐλεύθεραι γυναῖκες ὑποβάλλονται πολλάκις δι' ἀπαιδίαν, ὅταν μὴ δύνωνται αὐταὶ κυῆσαι, βουλομένη κατασχεῖν ἔκάστη τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν ἑιστῆς καὶ τὸν οἶκον, καὶ ἄμα οὐκ ἀποροῦσαι ὅπούθεν τοὺς παῖδας θρέψουσι.² τὰς δὲ δούλας τούμαντίον, τὰς μὲν πρὸ τοῦ τόκου διαφθειρούσας, τὰς δὲ ὕστερον, ἐὰν δύνωνται λαθεῖν, τὸ γενόμενον ἐνίστε³ καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν συνειδότων, ὅπως μὴ πράγματα ἔχωσι παιδοτροφεῖν ἀναγκαζόμεναι πρὸς τῇ δουλείᾳ.

9 Ναὶ μὰ Δία, ἔφη, πλήν γε τῆς Οἰνέως, τοῦ Πανδίονος, εἴπε, νόθου παιδός· ὁ γάρ ἐκείνου νομεὺς ὁ ἐν ταῖς Ἐλευθεραῖς καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἡ τοῦ νομέως οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἔξετίθεσαν αὐτοὶ γεννήσαντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀλλότρια εὑρόντες ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ παιδία, οὐκ εἰδότες ὅτου ποτὲ ἦσαν, ἀνελόμενοι ἔτρεφον ὡς αὐτῶν, καὶ οὐδὲ ὕστερον ἐκόντες οὐδέποτε ὡμολόγησαν ὅτι ἀλλότριοι ἦσαν. σὺ

¹ κακηγορίας Roiske: κατηγορίας.

² θρέψουσι Wilamowitz: θρέψωσι.

³ ἐνίστε Dindorf: ἔτε.

¹ Pandion, son of Cecrops, had a natural son Oeneus. See Apollodorus 3, 15. 1; Pausanias 1. 5, 2; Euripides, Medea 680,

FIFTEENTH DISCOURSE : SLAVERY II

been reared as sons. And such incidents you yourself are constantly seeing exhibited and described by the writers of comedy and in tragedies, but nevertheless you go on in the same old way, making positive statements about yourself and about me, as if you knew for a certainty the circumstances of our birth and the identity of our parents. Do you not know," he continued, "that the law permits anyone to bring an action for libel against the man who slanders without being able to adduce any clear proof of his statements?"

B. And the other man replied, "Yes, I know that freeborn women often palm off other persons' children as their own on account of their childlessness, when they are unable to conceive children themselves, because each one wishes to keep her own husband and her home, while at the same time they do not lack the means to support the children; but in the case of slave women, on the other hand, some destroy the child before birth and others afterwards, if they can do so without being caught, and yet sometimes even with the connivance of their husbands, that they may not be involved in trouble by being compelled to raise children in addition to their enduring slavery."

A. "O yes, certainly," the first man replied, "if you make an exception of the slave girl of Oeneus, the bastard son, as he alleged, of Pandion.¹ For Oeneus' herdsman, who lived at Eleutherae, and that herdsman's wife, so far from exposing their own children, took up other people's children whom they found by the roadside, without having the least notion whose children they were, and reared them as their own, nor at any time afterwards were they willing to admit that they were not their own. But you,

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

δ' ἵσως καὶ τὸν Ζῆθον καὶ τὸν Ἀμφίονα ἐλοιδόρεις ἄν, πρὶν φανεροὺς γενέσθαι, καὶ διώμυνσο ὡς περὶ δούλων τῶν τοῦ Διὸς νίέων.

10 Καὶ ὃς γελάσας πάνυ εἰρωνικῶς, Τοὺς τραγῳδούς,
ἔφη, καλεῖς μάρτυρας;

Οὓς γε πιστεύουσιν, εἶπεν, οἱ "Ελληνες· οὓς γὰρ ἔκεινοι ἀποδεικνύουσιν ἥρωας, τούτοις φαίνονται ἐναγίζοντες ὡς ἥρωσι, καὶ τὰ ἥρωα ἔκεινοις ὥκοδομημένα ἴδειν ἔστιν. ὅμοιῶς¹ δὲ ἐινόησον, εἰ βούλει, καὶ τὴν Φρυγίαν τὴν Πριάμιου δούλην, ἥ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐν τῇ "Ιδη ἔξέθρεψει" ὡς αὐτῆς νίέα, λαβοῦσα παρὰ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς βουκόλου ὅντος, καὶ τὴν παιδοτροφίαν οὐ χαλεπῶς ἔφερεν. Τήλεφον δὲ τὸν Λύγης καὶ "Ηρακλέους οὐχ ὑπὸ γυναικός, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ ἐλάφου τραφῆναι λέγουσιν. ἥ δοκεῖ σοι ἔλαφος μᾶλλον ἐλεῆσαι ἄν βρέφος καὶ ἐπιθυμῆσαι τρέφειν ἥ ἄνθρωπος, ἐὰν τύχῃ

11 δούλη οὖσα; φέρε δὴ πρὸς θεῶν, εἰ δὲ δὴ προσομοιογήσαιμι σοι τούτους εἶναι μου γονέας, οὓς σὺ φῆς, πόθεν οἰσθα περὶ τῆς ἔκεινων δουλείας; ἥ καὶ τοὺς γονέας αὐτῶν ἡπίστω σαφῶς καὶ ἔτοιμος εἴ καὶ περὶ ἔκεινων κατόμυνσθαι ἐκατέρουν ὅτι ἔξ ἀμφοῖν δούλοιν γεγόνεσαν ἀμφότεροι, καὶ τοὺς ἔτι πρότερον καὶ ἔξ ἀρχῆς ἄπαντας;

¹ ὅμοιως Wilamowitz : ὅμως.

¹ Antiopē became with child by Zeus, and while imprisoned at Eleutherae gave birth to twin sons, Amphion and Zethus, who were exposed. They were found by a shepherd and reared by him and his wife. Dio here is apparently our only authority for believing that they were the slaves of Oeneus. According to Hyginus, *Fable 7*, it was not a single shepherd but shepherds who found the children. See also Apollodorus 3. 5. 5.

FIFTEENTH DISCOURSE : SLAVERY II

perhaps, would have abused both Zethus and Amphion before their identity became known, and would have taken solemn oath that the sons of Zeus were slaves.”¹

B. Then his opponent laughed very ironically and said: “Aha! is it the tragic poets to whom you appeal as witnesses?”

A. “Yes indeed,” said the other man, “for the Greeks have confidence in them; for whomsoever these poets exhibit as heroes, to them you will find all Greeks offering sacrifice as heroes, and you may see with your eyes the shrines which the people have erected in their honour. And in the same manner consider, if you please, the Phrygian woman, who was the slave of Priam, who reared Alexander on Mount Ida as her own son after taking him from her husband, who was a herdsman, and raised no objection to her rearing the child. And Telephus, the son of Augê and Heracles, they say was not reared by a woman but by a hind. Or do you think that a hind would have more compassion on a babe and desire to rear it than a human being would if she happened to be a slave? Come now, in Heaven’s name, if I should go so far as to admit to you that my parents are those whom you say they are, how can you know that they are slaves? Or were you really sure who *their* parents were, and are you ready to take your solemn oath in regard to each of them also that both were born of two slaves—they and their progenitors back to the very beginning—all of them?² For it is

Euripides wrote a famous play called *Antiopë*, to which the speaker *B* indirectly refers when he speaks of ‘tragic poets.’

² Cf. Plato, *Theaetetus* 175 a, where Socrates says that every man has many slaves among his ancestors.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

δῆλον γάρ ὡς ἔάνπερ ἐλεύθερος ἦ τις τῶν ἐκ τοῦ
γένους, οὐκέτι οἶόν τε τοὺς ἀπ' ἐκείνου δούλους
ὁρθῶς νομίζεσθαι. τοῦτο δὲ οὐ δυνατόν ἐστιν,
ὡς βέλτιστε, ὡς φασιν, ἐκ τοῦ παντὸς αἰῶνος εἶναι
τι γένος ἀνθρώπων, ἐν ᾧ οὐκ ἄπειροι μὲν ἐλεύθεροι
γεγόνασιν, οὐκ ἐλάττους δὲ τούτων οἱ δεδουλευ-
κότες· καὶ νὴ Δία τύραινοι καὶ βασιλεῖς καὶ
δεσμῶται καὶ στιγματίαι καὶ κάπηλοι καὶ σκυτο-
τόμοι καὶ τάλλα ὅσα ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἐστύν, ἀπάσας
μὲν ἐργασίας, ἀπαντας δὲ βίους, ἀπάσας δὲ τύχας
 12 καὶ ξυμφορὰς μετηλλαχότες. ἢ οὐκ οἷσθα ὅτι
τούτου ἔνεκεν τὰ τῶν ἡρώων λεγομένων γένη
εὐθὺς εἰς θεοὺς οἱ ποιηταὶ ἀναφέρουσιν, ὥστε
μηκέτι ἔξετάζεσθαι τὸ πρόσωπον; καὶ τούς γε
πλείονας αὐτῶν φασιν ἐκ Διὸς γεγονέναι, ἵνα μὴ
αὐτοῖς οἱ τε βασιλεῖς καὶ οἱ οἰκισταὶ τῶν πόλεων
καὶ ἐπώνυμοι εἰς τοιαῦτα ἐμπίπτωσιν, ἃ δοκεῖ
παρὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὀνείδη εἶναι. ὥστε, εἴπερ
οὕτως ἔχει τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὡς ἡμεῖς τε καὶ
ἄλλοι σοφώτεροι ἡμῶν φασιν, οὐδὲν ἂν μᾶλλον
σοὶ¹ προσήκοι ἐλευθερίας κατὰ γένος ἢ δτῷοῦν
τῶν σφόδρα δοκούντων οἰκετῶν· εἰ μὴ ἄρα καὶ
σὺ φθάσεις ἀναγαγὼν εἰς Δία ἢ Ποσειδῶνα ἢ
Απόλλωνα τοὺς σαυτοῦ προγόνους· οὐδέ γε ἐμοὶ
δουλείας.
 13 Τὸ μὲν τοίνυν, ἔφη, τοῦ γένους καὶ τὸ τῶν
προγόνων ἐώμεν, ἐπειδὴ οὕτω σοι δοκεῖ ἀ-
στάθμητον εἶναι· ἵσως γάρ τοι ἀναφανήσῃ ὥσ-
περ Ἀμφίων καὶ Ζῆθος καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Πριάμου

¹ μᾶλλον σοὶ Arnim: μᾶλλόν σοι.

¹ See note 1, p. 152, *supra*.

FIFTEENTH DISCOURSE : SLAVERY II

clear that if any member of a family is free-born, it is no longer possible rightly to regard his descendants as slaves. And it is impossible, my good sir, that from all eternity, as the saying is, there should be any race of men in which there have not been countless numbers free and not fewer than these in number those who have been slaves; and indeed, tyrants and kings and prisoners and branded slaves and shopkeepers and cobblers and all the rest such as are found in the world of men, so that among them they have had experience of all the occupations, all the careers, all the fortunes, and all the mischances. Or do you not know that the reason why the poets trace the families of so-called heroes directly back to the gods is simply that the character in question may not be investigated further? And quite the majority of them men say are sprung from Zeus, in order that they may not have their kings and the founders of their cities and their eponymous heroes getting into predicaments of the kind that are regarded among men as disgraceful. Consequently, if it really is with men as we and others wiser than we claim, *you* can have no greater share in freedom on the score of family than any one of those who are regarded as out-and-out slaves—unless, of course, you too make haste to trace your own ancestry back to Zeus or Poseidon or Apollo—and I no greater share in slavery.”

B. “ Well then,” said the other, “ let us drop all this about family and ancestors, since you think it is so difficult to determine; for it is quite possible that you will turn out to be just like Amphion and Zethus,¹ and like Alexander² the offspring of Priam.

² Alexander, or Paris, did not find out who his parents were until he reached maturity.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

γεγονώς. ἀλλὰ σέ γε αὐτὸν πάντες ἐπιστάμεθα δουλεύοντα.

Τί δέ; εἶπε, δοκοῦσί σοι πάντες οἱ δουλεύοντες δοῦλοι εἶναι,¹ ἀλλὰ οὐ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν ἐλεύθεροι ὄντες καὶ ἀδίκως δουλεύειν;² ὃν τινες ἥδη καὶ εἰς δικαστήριον εἰσελθόντες ἀπέδειξαν ἐλευθέρους ὄντας ἑαυτούς, οἱ δέ τινες καὶ ἀνέχονται μέχρι παντός, οὐκ ἔχοντες ἀποδεῖξαι φανερῶς περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἢ οἷς ἂν μὴ³ χαλεποὶ ὥσιν οἱ λεγόμενοι αὐτῶν δεσπόται. ἐπεὶ φέρε, Εὔμαιος, ὁ Κτησίου τοῦ Ὁρμένου ἀνδρὸς πάνυ ἐλευθέρου καὶ πλουσίου παῖς, οὐκ ἐδούλευεν ἐν Ἰθάκῃ παρ' Ὁδυσσεῖ καὶ Λαέρτῃ; καὶ ἐνὸν αὐτῷ ἀποπλεῦσαι πολλάκις οἴκαδε, εἰ ἐβούλετο, οὐδέποτε ἡξίωσε. τί δέ; Ἀθηναῖοι πολλοὶ τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ ληφθέντων οὐκ ἐδούλευον ἐν Σικελίᾳ καὶ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ ἐλεύθεροι ὄντες, καὶ ἐν ἄλλαις πολλαῖς μάχαις οἱ αἱεὶ αἰχμάλωτοι γιγνόμενοι, οἱ μὲν χρόνον τινά ἔως ἂν εὕρωσι τοὺς λυσομένους, οἱ δέ μέχρι παντός; ὅπότε καὶ ὁ Καλλίουν υἱὸς ἔδοξε δουλεῦσαι πολὺν χρόνον ἐπὶ Θράκης μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἦν Ἀθηναῖοι περὶ Ἀκανθον ἤττήθησαν· ὥστε καὶ ὑστερον διαφυγῶν

¹ εἶναι added by Capps. ² δουλεύειν added by Cohoon.

³ μὴ added by Pflugk.

¹ Cf. Aristotle's argument in *Politics*, 7 ff., and 18 ff., where the illustration is given of free men who have been kidnapped into slavery.

² The faithful swineherd. See Homer, *Odyssey*, 15. 413 ff.

³ Dio refers to the Athenians who were taken prisoner by the Syracusans in 413 B.C., when the Sicilian expedition was utterly defeated.

⁴ This son of Callias is probably referred to in a fragment of Metagenes quoted in a scholium to Aristophanes, *Wasps*

FIFTEENTH DISCOURSE : SLAVERY II

But as for you, your own self, we all know that you are in a state of servitude."

A. "What," said the first man, "do you think that all those who are in a state of servitude are slaves?¹ But are not many of these, although free men, yet held unjustly in servitude? Some of them have already gone before the court and proved that they are free, while others are enduring to the end, either because they have no clear proof of their freedom, or else because those who are called their masters are not harsh with them. Consider, for instance, the case of Eumaeus,² the son of Ctesias, son of Ormenus: he was the son of a man who was altogether free and of great wealth, but did he not serve as a slave in Ithaca in the households of Odysseus and Laertes? And yet, although he could, time and again, have sailed off home if he had so wished, he never thought it worth while. What, did not many Athenians among those made prisoners in Sicily serve as slaves in Sicily and in the Peloponnese³ although they were free men; and of those taken captive from time to time in many other battles, some only for a time until they found men who would ransom them, and others to the very end? In the same period too, even the son of Callias⁴ was thought to have been in servitude a long time in Thrace after the battle in which the Athenians suffered a defeat at Acanthus,⁵ so that

1221 (Frag. 13 Kock): "Who is a citizen now except Sacas the Mysian, or Callias' bastard son?"—τις πολίτης δ' ἔστ' ἐτι πλὴν ἄρ' η Σάκας ὁ Μυσὸς η τὸ Καλλίου νόθον;

² No mention is made elsewhere of a defeat of the Athenians at Acanthus. Perhaps Dio is thinking of the year 424 B.C., when Acanthus abandoned the Athenian Confederacy and went over to Brasidas.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

καὶ ἀφικόμενος ἡμφισβήτει τοῦ κλήρου τοῦ
Καλλίου καὶ πολλὰ πράγματα παρεῖχε τοῖς
ξυγγενέσιν, ἐκεῦνος μέν, οἷμαι, ψευδόμενος—ἢν γὰρ
οὐχ υἱός, ἀλλ' ἵπποκόμος Καλλίου, τὴν δὲ ὄψιν
ὅμοιος τῷ τοῦ Καλλίου μειρακίῳ, ὃ ἔτυχεν ἐν
τῇ μάχῃ τελευτῆσαν· ἔτι δὲ ἡλλήνιζεν¹ ἀκριβῶς
καὶ γράμματα ἡπίστατο· ἀλλὰ ἔτεροί γε μυρίοι
 16 τοῦτο πεπόνθασιν· ἐπεὶ καὶ² νῦν τῶν ἐνθάδε δου-
λευόντων οὐκ ἀπογιγνώσκω πολλοὺς εἶναι ἐλευθέ-
ρους. οὐ γὰρ ἐὰν μὲν Ἀθηναίων τις ἀλούς κατὰ
πόλεμον εἰς Πέρσας ἀπαχθῆ ἦ καὶ νὴ Δία ἐὰν
εἰς Θράκην ἦ Σικελίαν ἀχθεὶς ἀπεμποληθῆ,
φῆσομεν ἐλεύθερον ὄντα δουλεύειν· ἐὰν δὲ Θρακῶν
τις ἦ Περσῶν, μὴ μόνον ἐξ ἐλευθέρων γεγονὼς
ἔκει, δεῦρο ἀχθῆ, ἀλλὰ καὶ δυνάστου τινὸς ἦ
βασιλέως υἱός, οὐχ ὁμολογήσομεν ἐλεύθερον εἶναι.
 17 οὐκ οἰσθα τὸν Ἀθήνησιν, ἔφη, νόμον, παρὰ πολλοῖς
δὲ καὶ ἄλλοις, ὅτι φύσει τὸν³ δοῦλον γενόμενον
οὐκ ἐᾶ μετέχειν τῆς πολιτείας; τὸν δὲ Καλλίου
υἱόν, εἴπερ ὄντως ἐσώθη τότε⁴ ἀλούς, ἀφικόμενον
ἐκ Θράκης, συχνὰ ἔτη γεγονότα ἔκει καὶ πολλάκις
μεμαστιγωμένον, οὐδεὶς ἀν ἡξίου τῆς πολιτείας
ἀπελαύνειν· ἐνίστε ὥστε⁵ καὶ ὁ νόμος οὗ φησι
δούλους γεγονέναι τοὺς ἀδίκως δουλεύσαντας.
 18 τί δὲ καὶ ποιοῦντά με ἐπίστασαι πρὸς θεῶν ἷ
τί πάσχοντα, ὅτι με φῆσι ἐπίστασθαι δουλεύοντα;
Τρεφόμενον ἔγωγε ὑπὸ τοῦ δεσπότου καὶ

¹ ἡλλήνιζεν Morel: ἡλλήνιζεν.

² After καὶ the MSS. have τῶν, which Wifstrand deletes.

³ φύσει τὸν Wifstrand, τὸν φύσει Morel: φησὶ τὸν.

⁴ τότε Emperius: ποτὲ.

⁵ The MSS. word-order ἐνίστε ὥστε is successfully defended by Wifstrand.

FIFTEENTH DISCOURSE : SLAVERY II

when he escaped afterwards and reached home he laid claim to the estate left by Callias and caused a great deal of trouble to the next of kin, being, in my opinion, an impostor. For he was not the son of Callias but his groom, in appearance resembling that boy of Callias who did lose his life in the battle ; and besides he spoke Greek accurately and could read and write.—But there have been innumerable others who have suffered this fate, since, even of those who are in servitude here at the present time firmly believe that many are free-born men. For we shall not assert that any Athenian who is free-born is a slave if he has been made a prisoner in war and carried off to Persia, or even, if you like, is taken to Thrace or Sicily and sold like a chattel ; but if any Thracian or Persian, not only born there of free parents but even the son of some prince or king, is brought here, we shall not admit that he is a free person. Do you not know," he continued, " the law they have at Athens and in many other states as well, which does not allow the man who was born a slave to enjoy the rights of a citizen ? But the son of Callias, if he actually did escape from captivity on that occasion, after reaching home from Thrace, even though he had spent many years there and had often been scourged, no one would think it right to exclude from Athenian citizenship ; so that there are occasional instances where the law too denies that those who have been unjustly in servitude have thereby become slaves. In heaven's name, I ask you, what is it that I do of which you have knowledge, or what is it that is done to me, which justifies your saying that you know that I am in a state of slavery ? "

B. "I know that you are being kept by your

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

άκολουθοῦντα ἐκείνω καὶ ποιοῦντα ὅ τι ποτ' ἐκεῖνος προστάττοι· εἰ δὲ μή, παιόμενον.

Οὕτως μέν, ἔφη, καὶ τοὺς νίοὺς ἀποφαίνεις δούλους τῶν πατέρων· καὶ γὰρ ἀκολουθοῦσι πολλοῖς τῶν πενήτων καὶ εἰς γυμνάσιον βαδίζουσι καὶ ἐπὶ δεῖπνον, καὶ τρέφονται πάντες ὑπὸ τῶν πατέρων καὶ παίονται πολλάκις ὑπ' αὐτῶν, καὶ πείθονται ὅ τι ἀν ἐκεῖνοι προστάττωσιν

19 αὐτοῖς. καίτοι ἔνεκα τοῦ πείθεσθαι καὶ πληγὰς, λαμβάνειν, καὶ τῶν γραμματιστῶν οἰκέτας φίσεις τοὺς παρ' αὐτοῖς μανθάνοντας καὶ τοὺς παιδοτρίβας δεσπότας εἶναι τῶν μαθητῶν ἢ τοὺς ἄλλο τι διδάσκοντας· καὶ γὰρ προστάττουσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ τύπτουσι μὴ πειθομένους.

Νὴ Δί, ἔφη· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστι τοῖς παιδοτρίβαις οὐδὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις διδάσκαλοις δῆσαι τοὺς μαθητὰς οὐδὲ ἀποδόσθαι οὐδέ γε εἰς μυλῶνα¹ ἐμβαλεῖν· τοῖς δέ γε δεσπόταις ἅπαντα ταῦτα ἔφειμένα ἔστιν.

20 "Ισως γὰρ οὐκ οἰσθα ὅτι παρὰ πολλοῖς καὶ σφόδρα εὐνομουμένοις ταῦτα ἀ λέγεις ἔξεστι τοῖς πατράσι περὶ τοὺς νίέας, καὶ δῆσαι² ἐὰν βούλωνται, καὶ ἀποδίδοσθαι, καὶ ὃ ἔτι³ τούτων χαλεπώτερον· ἔφειται γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἀποκτεῖναι μήτε κρίναντας μήτε ὅλως αἰτιασαμένους· ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐδὲν ἥττον οὐ⁴ δοῦλοι εἰσι τῶν πατέρων, ἀλλὰ νίεῖς. εἰ δὲ δὴ ὅτι μάλιστα ἐδούλευον καὶ δοῦλος⁵

¹ μυλῶνα Dindorf: μύλωνα.

² δῆσαι Wifstrand: δὴ καὶ.

³ ὃ ἔτι Pflugk, τὸ ἔτι Wilamowitz i ὅ τι.

⁴ οὐ added by Emperius.

⁵ δοῦλος Reiske: δοῦλος.

FIFTEENTH DISCOURSE: SLAVERY II

master, dance attendance upon him, and do whatever he commands; or else you take a beating."

A. "According to that," said the first man, "you can make out that sons also are the slaves of their fathers; for they dance attendance upon their fathers, often, if they are poor, walking with them to the gymnasium or to dinner; and they without exception are supported by their fathers and frequently are beaten by them, and they obey any orders their fathers give them. And yet, so far as obeying and being thrashed are concerned, you can go on and assert that the boys who take lessons of schoolmasters are likewise their servants and that the gymnastic trainers are slave-masters of their pupils, or those who teach anything else; for they give orders to their pupils and trounce them when they are disobedient."

B. "Indeed that's true," replied the other, "but it is not permissible for the gymnastic instructors or for the other teachers to imprison their pupils or to sell them or to cast them into the mill, but to slave-masters all these things are allowed."

A. "Yes, but perhaps you do not know that in many states which have exceedingly good laws fathers have all these powers which you mention in regard to their sons, and what is more, if they wish to do so, they may even imprison or sell them; and they have a power even more terrible than any of these; for they actually are allowed to put their sons to death without any trial and even without bringing any accusation at all against them;¹ but still none the less they are not their fathers' slaves but their sons. And even if I was once in a state of slavery in the

¹ The early Roman law permitted this.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

εξ ἀρχῆς ὑπῆρχον δικαίως, τί με, ἔφη, κωλύει νῦν ἐλεύθερον εἶναι μηδενὸς ἔλαπτον, σὲ δὲ αὖ τούναντίον, εὶς καὶ σφόδρα εὖ ἐλευθέρων ἥσθα, δοῦλον εἶναι παντὸς μᾶλλον;

21 Τοῦτο μέν, εἶπεν, οὐχ ὅρῶ ὅπως ἐλεύθερος ὁνδοῦλος ἔσομαι· σὲ δὲ οὐκ ἀδύνατον ἐλεύθερον γεγονέναι, ἀφέντος τοῦ δεσπότου.

Τί δέ, ὡς λῷστε, ἔφη, οὐθεὶς ἄν γένοιτο ἐλεύθερος μὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ δεσπότου ἀφεθεῖς;

Πῶς γάρ; εἶπεν.

“Οπως Ἀθηναίων ψηφισαμένων μετὰ τὴν ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ μάχην τοὺς συμπολεμήσοντας¹ οἰκέτας ἐλευθέρους εἶναι, εὶς προῦβη ὁ πόλεμος, ἀλλὰ μὴ διελύσατο θάπτον ὁ Φίλιππος πρὸς αὐτούς, πολλοὶ ἄν τῶν Ἀθήνησιν οἰκετῶν ἦ μικροῦ πάντες ἐλεύθεροι ἦσαν, οὐχ ὑπὸ τοῦ δεσπότου ἔκαστος ἀφεθεῖς.

“Εστω τοῦτό γε, εἰς δημοσίᾳ σε ἣ πόλις ἐλεύθερώσει.

22 Τί δέ; ἔμαυτὸν οὐκ ἄν σοι δοκῶ ἐλευθερῶσαι;
 Εἴ γε ἀργύριον ποθεν καταβάλοις τῷ δεσπότῃ.
 Οὐ τοῦτόν φημι τὸν τρόπον, ἀλλὰ ὅνπερ Κῦρος οὐ μόνον ἔαυτόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ Πέρσας ἅπαντας ἡλευθέρωσε, τοσοῦτον ὅχλον, οὗτε ἀργύριον οὐδενὶ καταβαλὼν οὕτε ὑπὸ τοῦ δεσπότου ἀφεθεῖς. ἦ

¹ συμπολεμήσοντες Kayser: συμπολεμήσαντας.

¹ i.e., rather than the owner.

FIFTEENTH DISCOURSE : SLAVERY II

fullest sense of the term and had been a slave justly from the very beginning, what is to prevent me now," he continued, "from being just as free as anybody else, and you in your turn, on the contrary, even if you most indisputably were the son of free parents, from being an out-and-out slave?"

B. "For my part," rejoined the other, "I do not see how I am to become a slave when, in fact, I am free; but as for you, it is not impossible that you have become free by your master's having emancipated you."

A. "See here, my good fellow," said his antagonist, "would nobody get his freedom unless emancipated by his owner?"

B. "Why, how could anybody?" asked the other.

A. "In the same way that, when the Athenians after the battle of Chaeronca passed a vote to the effect that those slaves who would help them in the war should receive their freedom, if the war had continued and Philip had not made peace with them too soon, many of the slaves at Athens, or rather, practically all of them, would have been free without having been emancipated one at a time by their respective masters."

B. "Yes, let that be granted—if the state¹ is going to free you by taking official action."

A. "But what have you to say to this: Do you not think that I could liberate myself?"

B. "Yes, if you should raise the money somewhere to pay your master with."

A. "That is not the method I mean, but the one by which Cyrus freed not only himself but also all the Persians, great host that they were, without paying down money to anyone or being set free by any master.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

οὐκ οἶσθα ὅτι λυχνοφόρος¹ ἦν Κῦρος Ἀστυάγους, καὶ ὅπότε μὲν ἡδυμήθη² καὶ ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ, ἐλεύθερος ἄμα καὶ βασιλεὺς ἐγένετο τῆς Ἀσίας ἀπάσης;

Εἰεν· ἐμὲ δὲ πῶς φῆς δοῦλον ἄν γενέσθαι;

23 “Οτι μυρίοι δήπου ἀποδίδονται ἑαυτοὺς ἐλεύθεροι ὅντες, ὥστε δουλεύειν κατὰ συγγραφὴν ἐνίοτε ἐπ’ οὐδενὶ τῶν μετρίων, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῖς χαλεπωτάτοις.

Τέως μὲν οὖν προσεῖχον τοῖς λόγοις οἱ παρόντες, ὡς οὐ μετὰ σπουδῆς λεγομένοις μᾶλλον ἢ μετὰ παιδιᾶς ὕστερον δὲ ἐφιλονίκουν, καὶ ἔδοκει ἄποπον εἶναι, εἰ μηδὲν ἔσται εἰπεῖν τεκμήριον, φὶ τις ἀναμφιλόγως διακρινεῖ³ τὸν δοῦλον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐλευθέρου, ἀλλ’ εὐμαρὲς ἔσοιτο περὶ παντὸς 24 ἀμφισβητεῖν καὶ ἀντιλέγειν. ἀφέντες οὖν ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου σκοπεῖν καὶ τῆς ἐκείνου δουλείας, ἐσκόπουν ὅστις εἴη δοῦλος. καὶ ἔδοκει αὐτοῖς, διν ἄν τις κεκτημένος κυρίως, ὥσπερ ἄλλο τι τῶν αὐτοῦ χρημάτων ἢ βοσκημάτων, ὥστε ἐξεῖναι αὐτῷ χρῆσθαι ὃ τι βούλεται, οὗτος ὁρθῶς λέγεσθαι τε καὶ εἶναι δοῦλος τοῦ κεκτημένου.

Πάλιν οὖν ἡμφεσβήτει ὁ περὶ τῆς δουλείας

¹ λυχνοφόρος Hercher : λυχνοποιὸς.

² ὅπότε γ' ἡνεθυμήθη Emperorius :

³ διακρινεῖ Αγνίμ : διακρίνει U, διακρίνη BM.

¹ Cyrus the Great, who threw off the yoke of the Medes.

² The MSS. have “lampmaker,” for which Hercher proposed “lampbearer.” We learn nothing of either function in the accounts of Cyrus. Cyrus was the θυγατριδοῦς “daughter’s son” of Astyages, King of the Medes.

FIFTEENTH DISCOURSE : SLAVERY II

Or do you not know that Cyrus¹ was the vassal² of Astyages and that when he got the power and decided that the time was ripe for action, he became both free and king of all Asia?"

B. "Granted; I know it. But what do you mean by saying that *I* might become a slave?"

A. "I mean that great numbers of men, we may suppose, who are free-born sell themselves, so that they are slaves by contract, sometimes on no easy terms but the most severe imaginable."³

Now up to this point the audience paid attention to their arguments, under the impression that they were not made so much in earnest as in jest. Yet afterwards they fell to wrangling and were inclined to the opinion that it was a strange thing if it was going to be impossible for a man to cite any evidence by which the slave could be unequivocally distinguished from the free man, but that it would be easy to debate and argue about every individual case. So they dropped their discussion about the particular man in question⁴ and his slavery, and proceeded to consider the general question: Who is a slave. And the consensus of their opinion was that when anyone gets possession of a human being, in the strict meaning of that term, just as he might of any item of his goods or cattle, so as to have the right to use him as he likes, then that man is both correctly called and in fact is the slave of the man into whose possession he has come.

Consequently, the man who had objected to being

³ Educated Greeks would hire themselves out as companions in wealthy houses and often performed very exacting service.

⁴ The first of the two disputants.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

ἀντιλέγων ὅ τι ποτὲ εἴη τὸ κύριον τῆς κτήσεως. καὶ γὰρ οἰκίαν καὶ χωρίον καὶ ἵππον καὶ βοῦν πολλοὺς ἥδη φανῆναι τῶν κεκτημένων πολὺν χρόνον οὐ δικαίως ἔχοντας, ἐνίους δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῶν πατέρων παρειληφότας· οὕτως δὴ καὶ ἄνθρωπον εἶναι ἀδίκως κεκτήσθαι. καὶ γὰρ δὴ τῶν κτωμένων ἀεὶ¹ τοὺς οἰκέτας, ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ξύμπαντα, οἱ μὲν παρ'² ἄλλων³ λαμβάνουσιν ἡ χαρισμάτου τυνὸς ἡ κληρονομήσαντες ἡ πριάμενοι,³ τινὲς δὲ ἀξ ἀρχῆς τοὺς παρὰ σφίσι γενηθέντας, οὓς οἰκογενεῖς καλοῦσιν. τρίτος δὲ κτήσεως τρόπος, ὅταν ἐν πολέμῳ λαβὼν αἰχμάλωτον ἡ καὶ λησάμενος, κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἔχῃ καταδουλωσάμενος, ὥσπερ, οἷμαι, πρεσβύτατος ἀπάντων ἔστιν. τοὺς γὰρ πρώτους γενομένους δούλους οὐκ εἰκὸς ἐκ δούλων φῦναι τὴν ἀρχήν, ἀλλὰ ὑπὸ ληστείας ἡ πολέμῳ⁴ κρατηθέντας οὕτως ἀναγκασθῆναι δουλεύειν τοῖς λαβοῦσιν. οὐκοῦν οὗτος ὁ παλαιότατος τρόπος, ἐξ οὐ πάντες οἱ λοιποὶ ἥρτηνται, σφόδρα ἀσθενής καὶ οὐδὲν ἔχων ἴσχυρόν· ὅταν γάρ ποτε δυνηθῶσιν ἐκεῖνοι πάλιν ἀποφυγεῖν, οὐδὲν κωλύει ἐλευθέρους εἶναι αὐτούς, ὡς ἀδίκως δουλεύοντας· ὥστε οὐδὲ πρότερόν ποτε δοῦλοι ἦσαν. ἐνίοτε δὲ οὐ μόνον αὐτοὶ ἀπέφυγον τὴν δουλείαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς δεσπότας κατεδουλώ-

¹ ἀεὶ Cohoon: εἶναι.

² παρ' ἄλλων Reiske: γὰρ ἄλλως.

³ κληρονομήσαντες ἡ πριάμενοι Reiske: κληρονομήσαντος ἡ πριαμένου.

FIFTEENTH DISCOURSE : SLAVERY II

called a slave raised the further question as to what constituted the validity of possession. For, he said, in the case of a house, a plot of land, a horse, or a cow, many of those who had possession had in the past been found to have held them for a long time unjustly, in some instances even though they had inherited the things from their fathers. In precisely the same way it was possible, he maintained, to have gained possession also of a human being unjustly. For manifestly of those who from time to time acquire slaves, as they acquire all other pieces of property, some get them from others either as a free gift from someone or by inheritance or by purchase, whereas some few from the very beginning have possession of those who were born under their roof, 'home-bred' slaves as they call them. A third method of acquiring possession is when a man takes a prisoner in war or even in brigandage and in this way holds the man after enslaving him, the oldest method of all, I presume. For it is not likely that the first men to become slaves were born of slaves in the first place, but that they were overpowered in brigandage or war and thus compelled to be slaves to their captors. So we see that this earliest method, upon which all the others depend, is exceedingly vulnerable and has no validity at all; for just as soon as those men are able to make their escape, there is nothing to prevent them from being free as having been in servitude unjustly. Consequently, they were not slaves before that, either. And sometimes they not only escaped from slavery themselves, but also reduced their masters to

* πολέμω Dindorf : πολέμου.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

σαντο. κάνταῦθα ἥδη, φασίν, δστράκου μεταπεσόντος ἄπαν γίγνεται τούναυτίον τῶν πρότερον.

Εἶπεν οὖν τις τῶν παρόντων ὅτι ἐκεῖνοι μὲν αὐτοὶ ἵσως οὐκ ἀν λέγοιντο δοῦλοι, τοῖς δὲ ἐξ ἐκείνων γενομένοις καὶ τοῖς δευτέροις καὶ τοῖς τρίτοις κυρίως ἀν ἥδη προσήκοι τοῦ δύναματος.

27 Καὶ πῶς; εἰ μὲν γὰρ τὸ ἀλῶναι ποιεῖ δουλεύειν, αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἑαλωκόσι μᾶλλον τούτου προσήκοι ἀν ἡ τοῖς ἐξ ἐκείνων· εἰ δὲ τὸ ἐκ δούλων γεγονέναι, δῆλον ὅτι ἐξ ἐλευθέρων ὅντες τῶν ἑαλωκότων οἱ μετ' αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἀν εἰεν οἰκέται. καὶ γὰρ δὴ δρῶμεν ἐικείνους Μεσσηνίους, δι' ὃσων ἔτων οὐ μόνον τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐκομίσαντο τὴν αὐτῶν. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἡττήθησαν ἐν Λεύκτροις ὑπὸ Θηβαίων Λακεδαιμόνιοι, στρατεύσαντες εἰς Πελοπόννησον Θηβαῖοι μετὰ τῶν συμμάχων ἡνάγκασαν τὴν τε χώραν τὴν Μεσσηνίαν ἀποδοῦναι Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ ὅσοι ἦσαν ἀπ' ἐκείνων γεγονότες, δουλεύοντας πρότερον παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίοις,¹ τοὺς Εἴλωτας λεγομένους, κατώκισαν πάλιν εἰς Μεσσήνην. καὶ ταῦτα οὐδείς φησιν ἀδίκως πεποιηκέναι τοὺς Θηβαίους, ἀλλὰ παγκάλως καὶ δικαίως. ὥστε εἴπερ οὗτος ὁ τρόπος οὐ δίκαιός ἔστι τῆς κτήσεως, ἐξ οὐ πάντες οἱ λοιποὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχουσι, κινδυνεύει μηδὲ ἄλλος μηθεὶς εἶναι, μηδὲ τῷ ὅντι κατ' ἀλήθειαν δοῦλος λέγεσθαι.

¹ παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίοις Reiske: γὰρ Λακεδαιμόνιοι.

¹ An expression derived from the game *ostrakinda*, played with sherds (*ostraka*); cf. Suidas s. δστράκου περιστροφή and vol. I., p. 219, footnote.

FIFTEENTH DISCOURSE : SLAVERY II

slavery. In this case, also, we have now found that 'at the flip of a shell,'¹ as the saying goes, their positions are completely reversed.

At this point one of the audience interjected that while those men themselves perhaps could not be called slaves, yet their children and those of the second and third generations could quite properly be so designated.

"But how can that be? For if being captured makes a man a slave, the men who themselves were captured deserve that appellation more than their descendants do; and if it is having been born of slaves that makes men so, it is clear that by virtue of being sprung from those who were taken captive and were consequently free-born, their descendants would not be slaves. For instance, we see that those famous Messenians after the lapse of so many years recovered not only their freedom but their territory as well. For when the Spartans were defeated at Leuctra² by the Thebans, the latter marched into the Peloponnese supported by their allies, and not only compelled the Spartans to give back the Messenian territory, but settled in Messene again all the original Messenians' descendants, the Helots as they were called, who had previously been in servitude to the Spartans. And not a man says that the Thebans therein acted unjustly, but all agree that altogether nobly and justly. Consequently, if this method of gaining possession, from which all the others take their beginning, is not just, it is likely that no other one is either, and that the term 'slave' does not in reality correspond to the truth.

¹ In 371 B.C.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

29 Ἀλλὰ μὴ οὐχ οὕτως ἥ λεγόμενος ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὁ δοῦλος, ὑπέρ ὅτου ἀργύριον τις τοῦ σώματος κατέβαλεν ἥ ὃς ἀν ἐκ δούλων λεγομένων ἥ γεγονώς, ὥσπερ οἱ πολλοὶ¹ νομίζουσι, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον ὥσπερ ἀνελεύθερος καὶ δουλοπρεπής. τῶν μὲν γὰρ λεγομένων δούλων πολλοὺς ὅμολογήσομεν δήπου εἶναι ἐλευθερίους, τῶν δέ γε ἐλευθέρων πολλοὺς πάνυ δουλοπρεπεῖς. ἔστι δὲ ὡς περὶ² τοὺς γενναίους καὶ τοὺς εὐγενεῖς. τούτους γὰρ οἱ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὠνόμασαν τοὺς εὖ γεγονότας πρὸς ἀρετὴν, οὐδὲν πολυπραγμονοῦντες ἐκ τίνων εἰσόν· ὕστερον δὲ οἱ ἐκ τῶν πάλαι πλουσίων καὶ τῶν 30 ἐνδόξων ὑπό τινων εὐγενεῖς ἐκλήθησαν. τούτου δὲ σημεῖον σαφέστατον ἐπὶ γὰρ τῶν ἀλεκτρυόνων καὶ τῶν ἵππων καὶ τῶν κυνῶν διέμεινε τὸ ὄνομα, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἶχε τὸ παλαιόν. ὁ γὰρ ἵππον³ θεασάμενος θυμοειδῆ καὶ γαῦρον καὶ πρὸς δρόμον εὖ ἔχοντα, οὐ πυθόμενος εἴτε ἐξ Ἀρκαδίας ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῦ ἔτυχεν ὃν εἴτε ἐκ Μηδίας εἴτε Θετταλός, φησὶν εὐγενῆ τὸν ἵππον αὐτὸν⁴ κρίνων. ὅμοίως δὲ ὃς ἀν ἔμπειρος κυνῶν, ἐὰν κύνα ἴδῃ ταχέian καὶ πρόθυμον καὶ συνετὴν περὶ τὸ ἵχνος, οὐθὲν ἐπιζητεῖ πότερον ἐκ Καρῶν τὸ γένος ἥ Λάκαινα ἥ ἀλλαχόθεν ποθέν, ἀλλά φησι γενναίαν τὴν κύνα· τὸ αὐτὸ δὲ τοῦτο ἐπὶ ἀλεκτρυόνος καὶ τῶν ἀλλων ζώων. οὐκοῦν δῆλον ὅτι καὶ ἐπ' ἀνθρώπων οὕτως ἔχοι ἄν. ὥστε δις ἀν ἥ πρὸς ἀρετὴν καλῶς γεγονώς, τοῦτον προσήκει

¹ οἱ πολλοὶ Reiske : ὁ ἐλεύθερος.

² ἔστι δὲ ὡς περὶ Emperorius : ἔτι δὲ ὥσπερ.

³ ἵππον added by Reiske.

⁴ αὐτὸν Venetian edition : αὐτοῦ.

FIFTEENTH DISCOURSE : SLAVERY II

" But perhaps it was not in this way that the term ' slave ' was originally applied—that is, to a person for whose body someone paid money, or, as the majority think, to one who was sprung from persons who were called slaves, but rather to the man who lacked a free man's spirit and was of a servile nature. For of those who are called slaves we will, I presume, admit that many have the spirit of free men, and that among free men there are many who are altogether servile.¹ The case is the same with those known as ' noble ' and ' well-born.' For those who originally applied these names applied them to persons who were well-born in respect to virtue or excellence, not bothering to inquire who their parents were. Then afterwards the descendants of families of ancient wealth and high repute were called ' well-born ' by a certain class. Of this fact there is the clearest indication: for in the case of cocks and horses and dogs the designation was retained, just as it had been applied to men in olden times. For instance, when one sees a spirited and mettlesome horse that is well built for racing, without stopping first to enquire whether its sire by any chance came from Arcadia or from Media or is Thessalian, he judges the horse on its own merits and says that it is ' well-bred.' And it is the same with any connoisseur of dogs: whenever he sees a dog that is swift and keen and sagacious in following the scent, he does not go on to enquire whether it is of Carian or Spartan or some other breed, but says that it is a ' noble ' dog. And it is exactly the same in regard to the cock and the other animals. Therefore it is clear that it would be the same in the case of man also. And so when a man is well-born in respect

¹ See Aristotle, *Politics*, i. 6.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

γενναῖον λέγεσθαι, καν μηθεὶς ἐπίστηται τοὺς γονέας αὐτοῦ μηδὲ τοὺς προγόνους.

Ἄλλὰ μὴν οὐχ οἶόν τε γενναῖον μὲν εἶναι τινα, μὴ εὐγενῆ δὲ τοῦτον, οὐδ' εὐγενῆ ὅντα μὴ ἐλεύθερον εἶναι· ὥστε καὶ τὸν ἀγεννῆ πᾶσα¹ ἀνάγκη δούλον εἶναι. καὶ γὰρ δὴ εἰ τὸ τῆς ἐλευθερίας καὶ τὸ τῆς δουλείας ἔθος ἦν ἐπὶ τε ἵππων λέγεσθαι καὶ ἀλεκτρυόνων καὶ κυνῶν, οὐκ ἀν ἄλλους μὲν γενναίους εἶναι ἐλέγομεν, ἄλλους δὲ ἐλευθέρους, οὐδὲ ἄλλους μὲν δούλους, ἄλλους δὲ ἀγεννεῖς.

32 ‘Ομοίως δὴ καὶ ἐπ’ ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἄλλους μὲν εἰκός ἔστι γενναίους καὶ εὐγενεῖς λέγειν, ἄλλους δὲ ἐλευθέρους, ἄλλὰ τοὺς αὐτούς, οὐδὲ ἄλλους μὲν ἀγεννεῖς καὶ ταπεινούς, ἄλλους δὲ δούλους.

Καὶ οὕτω δὴ ἀποφαίνει ὁ λόγος οὐ τοὺς φιλοσόφους μεταφέροντας τὰ δύνοματα, ἄλλὰ τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν ἀνοήτων ἀνθρώπων διὰ τὴν ἀπειρίαν.

¹ πᾶσα Reiske: πάντα.

FIFTEENTH DISCOURSE : SLAVERY II

to virtue, it is right to call him ‘ noble,’ even if no one knows his parents or his ancestors either.

“ But,” you will object, “ it is impossible for anyone to be ‘ noble ’ without being ‘ well-born ’ at the same time, or for one who is ‘ well-born ’ not to be free; hence we are absolutely obliged to conclude that it is the man of ignoble birth who is a slave.¹ For surely, if it were the custom to use the terms freedom and slavery with reference to horses and cocks and dogs, we should not call some ‘ noble ’ and others ‘ free,’ nor say that some were ‘ slaves ’ while others were of ‘ ignoble ’ birth or breed.

“ In the same way, then, when we are speaking of men, it is not reasonable to call some ‘ noble ’ and ‘ well-born,’ and others ‘ free ’; but we should make no distinction between the two classes. Nor is it reasonable either to say that some are of ignoble birth and mean, and that others are slaves.

“ In this way, then, our argument shows that it is not the philosophers who misuse the terms but the common run of ignorant men, because they know nothing about the matter.”

¹ Cf. a statement attributed to Socrates in Diogenes Laertius 2. 31 : When a certain man said to him (*i.e.* Socrates) that Antisthenes was born of a Thracian mother, he replied, “ Did you think that he would be so noble, if born of two Athenians ? ”—Σὺ δ' φού . . . οὐτως ἀν γενναῖον ἐκ δυοῦ Αθηναῖον γενέσθαι;

THE SIXTEENTH DISCOURSE: ON PAIN AND DISTRESS OF SPIRIT

This Discourse, given in the form of an address ($\deltaιάλεξις$), would seem also to belong to the period of Dio's exile, because it was then that he needed the comfort which this discourse gives. He teaches the Stoic doctrine that since there are so many things in life to hurt us, we should fortify our spirits so as to be insensible to them.

Von Arnim (*Leben und Werke*, p. 267 ff.) draws attention to the fact that this Discourse, just like Discourses 14, 17, 24, 27, 66, 68, 69, 71, 72, and 80, begins by mentioning a common fault of ordinary men in order to combat it.

16. ΠΕΡΙ ΛΥΠΗΣ

1 Τὸ μὲν ὑφ' Ἡδονῆς κρατεῖσθαι τοὺς πολλοὺς αἰτίαν ἵσως ἔχει· κηλούμενοι γὰρ καὶ γοητευόμενοι παρὰ ταύτη μένουσι· τὸ δὲ Λύπη δεδουλῶσθαι παντελῶς ἀλογον καὶ θαυμαστόν. ὁδυνώμενοι γὰρ καὶ βασανιζόμενοι τῇ χαλεπωτάτῃ πασῶν βασάνῳ μένομεν ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ τὸν λόγον τὸν¹ ἐλευθεροῦντα ἡμᾶς καὶ ἀπαλλάσσοντα τῆς ἀλγηδόνος οὐ προσιέμεθα. καίτοι τί μὲν ταπεινότερον ἄνδρὸς λυπουμένου; τί δὲ οὕτως αἰσχρὸν θέαμα; καθικνέται καὶ γάρ, οἶμαι, καὶ τοῦ σώματος τὸ πάθος καὶ τοῦτο συστέλλει καὶ
2 σκυθρωπὸν καὶ δυσειδὲς δοφθῆναι παρέχει. τὸ δὲ μὴ μόνον εἴκειν τῇ φορᾷ τῆς διανοίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσμηχανᾶσθαι τινα ἔξωθεν, οἷον μέλαιναν ἐσθῆτα καὶ συμπλοκὰς χειρῶν καὶ ταπεινὰς καθέδρας, ὡς ὑπὸ τούτων πάντων ἀναγκάζεσθαι τρόπον τινὰ τὴν διάνοιαν μηδέποτε ἀφίστασθαι τῆς λύπης, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ μυημονεύειν τοῦ² λυπεῖσθαι, διεγνωκότας δὴ³ ἔσεσθαι τινα ἀπαλλαγὴν τούτου καὶ μὴ πάντως ἀεὶ φανεῖσθαι⁴ τινα αἰτίαν τοῦ
3 πάθους, οὐχὶ σφόδρα εὔηθες; ἢ γὰρ προσήκουντος θάνατος ἢ νόσος ἐκείνων τινὸς ἢ καὶ αὐτοῦ· πρὸς δὲ

¹ τὸν added by Dindorf.

² τοῦ Capps: καὶ.

³ δὴ Arnim: μὴ.

THE SIXTEENTH DISCOURSE: ON PAIN AND DISTRESS OF SPIRIT

THAT the majority of us are mastered by Pleasure can perhaps be explained: it is because we are under her spell and witchery that we stay in her company, whereas accepting servitude to Pain is altogether irrational and strange. For although suffering pain and agony from the severest of all tortures, we nevertheless remain in it and do not accept the word of reason that frees and delivers us from our distress. And yet what more abject creature is there than a man who is held in thrall to Pain? What sight is there so shameful? For it seems to me that his condition actually affects his body also, and makes it shrunken and scowling and distorted in appearance. But this yielding to the mind's disturbance, and not only that but also the devising of certain external signs of it, such as black raiment, wringing the hands, sitting in a dejected posture, so that by all these the mind is in a certain sense compelled never to get away from its pain and distress, but to be always conscious of being in pain, although one knows perfectly well that there will be some relief from this and that there will not be found always and ever some cause for the suffering—is this not utterly silly? For instance, either the death of a relative, or the illness of one of them, or of oneself, may

* φανεῖσθαι Dindorf: φαίνεσθαι.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

τούτοις ἀδοξίᾳ, χρημάτων ἀποβολή, τὸ μὴ περᾶναι¹
 τι τῶν προκειμένων ἦ² παρὰ τὸ δέον, ἀσχολία, κίν-
 δυνος, μυρία ἄλλα ὅσα συμβαίνει κατὰ τὸν βίον· καὶ
 σχεδὸν ἀνάγκη τούτων ἀεί τι παρεῖναι· τὸ δὲ τε-
 4 λευταῖον, ἀν ἄρα γίγνηται³ χρόνος ἐν ᾧ μηδὲν
 ἀπαντᾶ δύσκολον, ἄλλα τοι τὸ προσδοκᾶν αὐτά καὶ
 γιγνώσκειν ὡς δυνατόν ἔστι συμβῆναι, καθάψεται
 τῆς γυνώμης τῶν οὕτως διακειμένων. οὔκουν
 καθ' ἕκαστον αὐτῶν δεῖ ποιεῖσθαι τὴν παραμυθίαν
 —ἀνήνυτον γάρ τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ λυπηρός ἔστιν ὁ
 βίος—ἄλλα ὅλως ἔξελόντα τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ πάθος
 καὶ τοῦτο κρίναντα βεβαίως, ὅτι μὴ λυπητέον
 ἔστι περὶ μηδενὸς τῷ νοῦν ἔχοντι, τὸ λοιπὸν
 ἐλευθεριάζειν, καὶ πάντων ἀδεια τῶν δυσχερῶν
 ἔσται. οὐδὲν γάρ ἔστιν αὐτὸ δεινόν, ἄλλα ὑπὸ
 τῆς δόξης καὶ τῆς ἀσθενείας τῆς ἡμετέρας γίγνε-
 5 ται τοιοῦτον. οἱ γοῦν πολλοί, ἐὰν⁴ γένηται τι
 τῶν νομιζομένων ἀτόπων, ἀεὶ τούτου μνημονεύουσι,
 δυσχεροῦς οὕσης τῆς μνήμης, ὅμοιον δή τι πάσχοντες
 τοῖς παιδίοις. καὶ γάρ ἔκεīνα τοῦ πυρὸς ἄψασθαι
 προθυμεῖται, καίτοι σφόδρα ἀλγοῦντα, καν ἀφῆσ,
 ἄψεται πάλιν.

6 "Ωσπερ οὖν τοῖς εἰς πόλεμον ἔξιοῦσιν οὐδέν
 ἔστιν ὄφελος, ἀν γυμνοὶ προελθόντες ἔπειτα
 ἕκαστον τῶν φερομένων βελῶν ἐκκλίνειν ἐθέλωσιν.
 οὐ γάρ ἔνι φυλάττεσθαι πάντα, δεῖ δὲ θώρακος
 στερεοῦ καὶ τῆς ἄλλης πανοπλίας, ὥστε, καν

¹ περᾶναι *Emperius*: παρεῖναι.

² ἦ Venetian edition : ἦ UB, omitted by M.

³ γίγνηται Selden : γίγνώσκηται.

⁴ ἐὰν, Jacobs : καν.

SIXTEENTH DISCOURSE : ON PAIN

occur and besides these, loss of reputation, a financial reverse, complete or partial failure in some undertaking, pressure of affairs, danger, and all the countless other misfortunes which occur in life (and one of these is practically sure always to be present); and finally, if after all a time does come when no trouble confronts one, yet all the same, the constant expectation of such things and the knowledge that they may occur will lay hold upon the mind of those who are of that temperament. Therefore one should not seek a special consolation for each of these troubles—for the task would be endless, and life is full of painful things—but one should tear that morbid state out of his soul completely, get a firm hold on the truth that the intelligent man ought not to feel pain about anything whatever, and be a free man henceforth. Then there will be release from dread of all that causes distress. For in fact there is nothing that in itself should cause fear; it is only false opinion and weakness on our part that make it so. The great majority, for instance, whenever any one of the things happen which are commonly regarded as untoward, keep continually recalling that thing, distressing though the recollection is, their state of mind being something like that of children, who are bent on touching the fire, for example, although they suffer great pain in doing so: yet if you give them permission they will do it again.

So, just as when men go forth to war it is no use for them to march out without their armour and then merely hope to dodge each flying missile, for it is impossible to guard against them all; but the soldier needs a stout breastplate and his full panoply too,

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

έμπεση τι, μὴ δικνεῖσθαι· τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ τοῖς εἰς τὸν βίον προελθοῦσιν οὐχ οἶόν τε ἐκκλίνειν οὐδὲ φυλάττεσθαι ὥστε ὑπὸ μηδενὸς παίεσθαι τῶν ἐκ τῆς τύχης, μυρίων ἐφ' ἔκαστον φερομένων, ἀλλὰ διανοίας ἴσχυρᾶς ἔστιν ἡ χρεία, μάλιστα μὲν ἀτρώτου καὶ πρὸς μηδὲν εἴκούσης, εἰ δὲ μή, μὴ γε¹ ῥᾳδίως μηδὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ τυχόντος τιτρωσκομένης· ἐπεὶ πολλάκις ἀνάγκη κεντεῖσθαι καὶ μυρία τραύ-
 7 ματα λαμβάνειν. καὶ γὰρ οἱ τοὺς πόδας ἔχοντες ἀπαλοὺς καὶ παντελῶς ἀτρίπτους, ἐπειτα γυμνοῖς αὐτοῖς βαδίζοντες, οὐδέποτε τοιαύτην εὑρήσουσα ὅδὸν ὥστε μὴ νῦττεσθαι μηδὲ ἀλγεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ τυχὸν αὐτῶν ἄπτεται· τοῖς δὲ ἡσκηκόσιν οὐδὲ ἡ πάνι τραχεῖα χαλεπή.

Τοσούτων οὖν δυσκόλων ὅντων ἀπὸ τῶν² τοῦ σώματος ἀρξαμένοις, τί δεῖ προσδοκᾶν, ἡ πῶς ἔνεστιν, ἔκαστον τούτων αἰσθανόμενον καὶ ῥᾳδίως ἐνδιδόντα μὴ κακοδαιμονέστατον ἀπάντων εἶναι, ἀεὶ³ προσευχόμενον τοῖς θεοῖς ὅπως μὴ τοῦτο
 8 μηδὲ τοῦτο συμβῇ; καθάπερ εἴ τις ἐν ὅμβρῳ πορευόμενος σκέπασμα μὲν ἔχοι μηδέν, εὔχοιτο δὲ μόνον ἔκαστον τῶν σταλαγμῶν διαφυγεῖν (πολὺ γοῦν τῶν σταλαγμῶν συνεχέστερά ἔστι τὰ δυσχερῆ τὰ⁴ παρὰ τῆς τύχης), ἡ νὴ Δία εἴ τις πλέων ἀντὶ τοῦ τοῖς οἰαξὶ προσέχειν καὶ τὸ προσπῖπτον δέχεσθαι καλῶς εὔχοιτο μηδὲν τῶν κυμάτων κατὰ τὴν ναῦν γενέσθαι. φέρε γάρ,

¹ μή, μὴ γε Reiske: μή γε, μή.

² τῶν added by Capps.

³ ἀεὶ added by Jacobs.

⁴ τὰ added by Arnim.

SIXTEENTH DISCOURSE : ON PAIN

so that, even if a missile does strike him, it may not penetrate—in the same way those also who have marched out into life cannot possibly dodge or so guard themselves as not to be struck by any of Fortune's shafts, thousands of which are flying against each man; but what they need is a stout heart, preferably invulnerable and yielding before no blow; or if that may not be, at least one that is not easily wounded or by any ordinary blow; for otherwise it must often be stabbed and receive a thousand wounds. Why, those who have feet which are tender and not calloused at all by use, and then attempt to walk with them bare, will never find a road so smooth that their feet will not be gashed or in pain, but any little thing hurts them; whereas for feet hardened by practice not even the roughest road causes trouble.

Therefore, since there are so many distressing things, beginning with those due of the body, what should anyone expect, or how is it possible, for anyone who pays attention to each of them and easily gives way, to avoid being the most unhappy man alive, ever praying the gods that this or that may not happen? It is just as if a man should go out in a rain without any covering, and should trust merely to prayers for avoiding each single drop¹ (and yet much thicker than the raindrops are the afflictions which Fortune sends); or exactly as if a man sailing a boat, instead of giving his attention to the steering-oars and meeting skilfully each oncoming wave, should pray that none might strike the ship.² Just

¹ For this figure cf. Demosthenes 9. 33.

² Cf. Demosthenes 9. 69.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

ω μάταιε, καν πάντα σοι τάλλα ἔχη κατὰ τρόπον,
 ἀλλὰ τοῦ γε εἰς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἡμέραν βιώσεσθαι
 τίνα ἔχεις πίστιν καν μὴ μεταξὺ πάντων ἀθρόως
 ἀφαιρεθῆναι τῶν δοκούντων ἀγαθῶν; οὐκοῦν
 σε περὶ τούτου πρώτου προσήκει λυπεῖσθαι καὶ
 9 δεδιέναι, τὴν ἀδηλότητα τοῦ πράγματος. ἀν
 δὲ ἐκεῖνο ἐννοηθῆστι μηδεὶς ὅλως ἐστὶ τοῦ
 βίου κύριος,¹ ἀλλὰ πάντες οἱ μακάριοι καὶ λίαν
 εὐδαίμονες δόξαντες εἶναι τεθνήκασι καὶ σοὶ
 πάρεστιν ἥδη τοῦτο τὸ πέρας, καν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον
 ἔλθης τοῦ βίου, πολὺν λῆρον ἡγήσῃ καὶ μεγάλην
 εὐήθειαν τὸ νομίζειν ὅλως τι δεινὸν εἶναι τῶν
 γιγνομένων ἢ μέγα ἢ θαυμαστόν, δίχα γε ἐνὸς
 τοῦ χωρὶς λύπης καὶ φόβου καὶ τῶν τοιούτων
 παθῶν μίαν γοῦν ἡμέραν διαγαγεῖν.

10 Τὸν Ἱάσονά φασι χρισάμενον² δυνάμει τινί,
 λαβόντα παρὰ τῆς Μηδείας, ἔπειτα, οἷμαι, μήτε
 παρὰ τοῦ δράκοντος μηδὲν παθεῖν μήτε ὑπὸ τῶν
 ταύρων τῶν τὸ πῦρ ἀναπνεόντων. ταύτην οὖν δεῖ
 κτήσασθαι τὴν δύναμιν παρὰ τῆς Μηδείας, τουτέστι
 τῆς φρονήσεως, λαβόντα, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἀπάντων
 καταφρονεῖν. εἰ δὲ μή, πάντα πῦρ ἡμῖν καὶ
 πάντα ἄυπνοι δράκοντες.

¹ κύριος Wilamowitz : χρόνος.

² χρισάμενον Reiske : χρησάμενον.

¹ Thé king of the Colchians promised to give Jason the golden fleece if he would yoke to a plough two fire-breathing bulls and sow the dragon teeth which had not been used by Cadmus. From the king's daughter Medea, by promising to marry her and take her back with him, Jason got the magic salve which enabled him to resist fire and steel and put to sleep the dragon which guarded the golden fleece. This magic

SIXTEENTH DISCOURSE : ON PAIN

think, you misguided man—even if everything else turns out as your heart wishes, yet what assurance have you of living even till the morrow, and not being suddenly, in the midst of everything, torn away from your fancied blessings? Consequently, this is the first thing about which you should be in painful anxiety and fear—the uncertainty of everything. Yet if you have the wisdom to reflect that absolutely no man is master of his life, but that all those who have been thought blessed and exceedingly fortunate are dead, and that this goal awaits you at any moment, even if you live to the ripest old age, you will consider it great nonsense and utter simplicity to imagine that anything at all which happens is terrible or great or marvellous, except this one achievement of living at least one day free from painful fretting, fear, and similar emotions.

The story goes that the famous Jason anointed himself with a certain potent salve¹ which he got from Medea, and it was after that, I fancy, that no harm came to him from either the dragon or the bulls which belched out fire. This, therefore, is the potent thing of which we should acquire possession, getting it from Medea, that is, from Meditation or Intelligence,² and then with our intelligence look with scorn thenceforth upon all things. Otherwise everything will be fire for us and everything sleepless dragons.

salve, or drug, was extracted from a plant with a saffron-coloured flower, said to have sprung from Prometheus' blood. Cf. Apollodorus I. 9. 23 and Frazer's note in vol. I., p. 111 (L.C.L.).

² In Stobaeus 3. 29. 92 we read : "Diogenes used to say that Medea was wise, but not a sorceress"—*οὐ Διογένης ἔλεγε τὴν Μήδειαν σοφὴν ἀλλ' οὐ φαρμακίδα γενέσθαι.*

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

11 Καίτοι τῶν λυπουμένων ἔκαστος αὐτῷ τὸ συμβεβηκός φῆσιν εἶναι δεινότατον καὶ μάλιστα ἄξιον λύπης· καὶ γὰρ τῶν φερόντων ἔκαστος, ὃ φέρει, τοῦτ' εἶναι δοκεῖ βαρύτατον. ἔστι δὲ ἀσθενοῦσι τοῦτο καὶ φαύλου σώματος· τὸ γὰρ αὐτὸν ἔτερος λαβὼν ἀν ἵσχυρότερος ῥᾳδίως οἴσει.¹

¹ Sonny considered the final paragraph a fragment drawn from an essay by another author. Arnim believed that it is either (especially the last sentence) very corrupt or composed by another than Dio.

SIXTEENTH DISCOURSE : ON PAIN

And yet every man who suffers pain and distress of spirit says that what has happened to himself is a most terrible thing and most worth grieving over, just as every person who carries a load imagines that what he is carrying is very heavy. But this really indicates a weak and sickly body, for another and stronger man will take and carry the same load easily.¹

¹ Dio means that the man of strong spirit will endure the troubles of life easily, just as the man of strong body will carry a load easily.

THE SEVENTEENTH DISCOURSE: ON COVETOUSNESS

After saying by way of preface that men often know what is right, but still fail to do it and need to be admonished again and again, Diogenes proceeds to point out the evils that come in the train of covetousness, and the blessings that follow from contentment. In these strictures on covetousness he makes considerable use of that passage in Euripides' *Phoenician Women* where the poet speaks of the evils of ambition, thus apparently showing that he considered the two vices to be fundamentally one and the same.

17. ΠΕΡΙ ΠΛΕΟΝΕΞΙΑΣ

1 Οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὑπὲρ τούτων οἰονται δεῖν¹ λέγειν ὑπὲρ ὥν ἔκαστος οὐκ ἔχει τὴν ἀληθῆ δόξαν, ὅπως ἀκούσαντες ὑπὲρ ὥν ἀγνοοῦσι μάθωσι· περὶ δὲ τῶν γυναρίμων καὶ πᾶσιν ὁμοίως φαινομένων περιττὸν εἶναι διδάσκειν. ἐγὼ δὲ εἰ μὲν ἔώρων ἡμᾶς οἷς νομίζομεν δρθῶς ἔχειν ἐμμένοντας καὶ μηδὲν ἔξωθεν πράττοντας τῆς ὑπαρχούσης ὑπολήψεως, οὐδ' ἂν αὐτὸς ὥμην ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι διατείνασθαι περὶ τῶν 2 προδήλων. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐχὶ τὴν ἀγνοιαν ἡμᾶς τῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ τῶν κακῶν τοσοῦτον δρῷ λυποῦσαν ὅσον τὸ μὴ πείθεσθαι τοὺς ὑπὲρ τούτων διαλογισμοῖς μηδὲ ἀκολουθεῖν αἷς ἔχομεν αὐτοὶ δόξαις, μεγάλην ὡφέλειαν ἥγοῦμαι τὸ συνεχῶς ἀναμιμήσκειν καὶ διὰ τοῦ λόγου παρακαλεῖν πρὸς τὸ πείθεσθαι καὶ φυλάττειν ἔργῳ τὸ προσῆκον.

“Ωσπερ γάρ, οἶμαι, καὶ τοὺς ἱατροὺς καὶ τοὺς κυβερνήτας δρῶμεν πολλάκις τὰ αὐτὰ προστάττοντας, καίτοι τὸ πρῶτον ἀκηκοότων οἷς ἂν κελεύωσιν, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴν ἀμελοῦντας αὐτοὺς καὶ μὴ προσέχοντας βλέπωσιν, οὕτως καὶ κατὰ

¹ δεῖν added by Casaubon.

THE SEVENTEENTH DISCOURSE: ON COVETOUSNESS

THE majority of men think that they should speak only on those subjects concerning which the common man has not the true opinion, in order that they may hear and get guidance on the matters whereof they are ignorant; but regarding what is well known and patent to all alike they think it superfluous to instruct. Yet for my own part, if I saw that we were holding to what we believe to be right and were doing nothing out of harmony with the view we already have,¹ I should not myself hold it necessary to insist on matters that are perfectly clear. However, since I observe that it is not our ignorance of the difference between good and evil that hurts us, so much as it is our failure to heed the dictates of reason on these matters and to be true to our personal opinions, I consider it most salutary to remind men of this without ceasing, and to appeal to their reason to give heed and in their acts to observe what is right and proper.

For instance, just as we see physicians and pilots repeating their orders time and again to those under their command, although they were heard the first time—but still they do so when they see them neglectful and unattentive—so too in life it is

¹ For the interpretation here given to the phrase $\tauῆς$ $\nu\pi\alpha\rho\chiούσης$ $\nu\pi\omega\lambdaήψεως$ cf. Demosthenes, *De Corona* 228.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

τὸν βίον χρήσιμόν ἔστι γίγνεσθαι πολλάκις περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν τοὺς λόγους, ὅταν εἰδῶσι¹ μὲν οἱ πολλοὶ τὸ δέον, μὴ μέντοι πράττωσιν. οὐ γάρ 3 ἔστι τέλος οὕτε τοῖς κάμνουσι τὸ γνῶναι τὸ συμφέρον αὐτοῖς, ἀλλ', οἶμαι, τὸ χρήσασθαι· τοῦτο γάρ αὐτοῖς παρέξει τὴν ὑγίειαν· οὕτε τοῖς ἄλλοις τὸ μαθεῖν τά τε² ὡφελοῦντα καὶ βλάπτοντα πρὸς τὸν βίον, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὴ διαμαρτάνειν τῇ τούτων αἵρεσει. καθάπερ γάρ ἔστιν ἵδεν τοὺς ὁφθαλμιῶντας ἐπισταμένους μὲν ὅτι λυπεῖ τὸ προσάγειν τοῖς ὁφθαλμοῖς τὰς χεῖρας, ὅμως δὲ οὐκ ἐθέλοντας ἀπέχεσθαι, παραπλησίας καὶ περὶ τὰ ἄλλα πράγματα οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ λίαν εἰδότες ὡς οὐ λυσιτελεῖ 4 τι ποιεῖν, οὐδὲν ἥπτον ἐμπίπτουσιν εἰς αὐτό. τίς γοῦν οὐκ οἴδε τὴν ἀκρασίαν ὡς μέγα ἔστι κακὸν τοῖς ἔχουσιν; ἀλλ' ὅμως μυρίους ἄν τις ἀκρατεῖς εὔροι. καὶ νῆ Δία γε τὴν ἀργύραν ἅπαντες ἴσασιν ὡς οὐ μόνον οὐχ οἴα τε πορίζειν τὰ δέοντα πρὸς τὸ ζῆν, ἀλλ' ἔτι³ καὶ τὰ ὄντα ἀπόλλυσι· καίτοι τῷ ὄντι⁴ πλείους ἔστιν εὑρεῖν τοὺς ἀργοὺς τῶν 5 ἐθελόντων τι πράττειν. ὅθεν, οἶμαι, προσήκει τοὺς ἀμεινον φρονοῦντας ἀεὶ συνεχῶς ὑπὲρ τούτων λέγειν, ἔάν πως γένηται δυνατὸν ἐπιστρέψαι καὶ βιάσασθαι πρὸς τὸ κρεύττον. ὥσπερ γάρ ἐν τοῖς μυστηρίοις ὁ ἱεροφάντης οὐχ ἀπαξ προαγορεύει τοῖς μυουμένοις ἔκαστον ὅν χρή, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν συμφερόντων λόγους ὥσπερ

¹ εἰδῶσι Venetian edition: ἴδωσι.

² τε Reiske: γε.

³ ἔτι Reiske: ὅτι.

⁴ καίτοι τῷ ὄντι Capps, καίτοι τῷ παντὶ Emporius, καίτοι σχεδόν τι Arnim: καὶ τῷ ὄντι.

THE SEVENTEENTH DISCOURSE

useful to speak about the same things repeatedly, when the majority know what is their duty, but nevertheless fail to do it. For it is not the main thing that the sick should know what is beneficial to them, but, I suppose, that they should use the treatment; since it is this that will bring them health; nor that men in general should learn what things are helpful and what are injurious to their lives, but that they should make no mistake by their choice between these. For just as one may see persons who are suffering from ophthalmia and know that it hurts to put their hands to their eyes, but still are unwilling to refrain from so doing, so likewise in regard to matters in general, the majority, even though they know perfectly well that it is not advantageous to do a certain thing, none the less fall to doing it. Who, for instance, does not know that intemperance is a great evil to its victims? But for all that you can find thousands that are intemperate. Yes, and idleness everybody must certainly know is not only unable to provide the necessaries of life, but, in addition, is destructive of what one already has; and yet in very truth you can find more idlers than men willing to work. Consequently, in my opinion it devolves upon the more thoughtful on all occasions and continually to speak of these matters, in the hope that it may prove possible to make men change their ways and to force them to the better course. For just as in the Mysteries the initiating priest more than once explains beforehand to those who are being initiated each single thing that they must do, in like manner it is profitable that the words concerning things beneficial be repeated often, or

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

τινὰ πρόρρησιν ἵεράν λυσιτελεῖ πολλάκις, μᾶλλον
δὲ ἀεὶ λέγεσθαι. τὰ γοῦν φλεγμαίνοντα τῶν
σωμάτων οὐκ εὐθὺς ἐνέδωκε πρὸς τὴν πρώτην
καταιόνησιν, ἀλλ' ἀν συνεχῶς τοῦτο ποιῆι τις,
ἐμαλάχθη καὶ ρᾶον ἔσχεν· οὐκοῦν ὅμοίως καὶ τὴν
ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ τῶν πολλῶν φλεγμονὴν ἀγαπητὸν εἴ
τις δύναιτο πραῦναι διηνεκῶς τῷ λόγῳ χρώμενος.

Φημὶ δὴ καὶ περὶ τῆς πλεονεξίας εἰδέναι μὲν ἄπαντας ὡς οὕτε συμφέρον οὕτε καλόν ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ τῶν μεγίστων κακῶν αἴτιον, μὴ μέντοι γε ἀπέχεσθαι μηδὲ ἐθέλειν μηδένα ἀνθρώπων ἵσον ἔχειν τῷ πέλασ. καίτοι τὴν μὲν ἀργίαν καὶ τὴν ἀκρασίαν καὶ καθόλου πάσας ἀπλῶς τὰς ἄλλας κακίας εὔροι τις ἂν αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἔχουσι βλαβεράς, καὶ νουθεσίας μέν, οἷμα, καὶ καταγνώσεως τοὺς ἐν τινι τούτων ὑπάρχοντας δικαίως τυγχάνοντας, οὐ μὴν μισουμένους γε οὐδὲ κοινοὺς ἄπασι δοκοῦντας ἔχθρούς· ἡ πλεονεξία δὲ μέγιστον μέν¹ ἔστιν αὐτῷ τινι κακόν, λυπεῖ δὲ καὶ τοὺς πέλας. καὶ τὸν πλεονέκτην οὐδεὶς ἐλεεῖ δήπουθεν οὐδὲ ἀξιοῖ διδάσκειν, προβάλλονται δὲ ἄπαντες καὶ πολέμιον αὐτῶν νομίζουσιν. ἔκαστος οὖν τῶν αὐτοῦ² εἰ βούλεται γνῶναι τὸ μέγεθος τῆς τοιαύτης πονηρίας, ἐννοησάτω πῶς αὐτὸς ἔχει πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιχειροῦντας

¹ μὲν added by Pflugk.

² τῶν αὐτοῦ Capps, αὐτῶν Emperius: αὐτῶν or αὐτὸν.

¹ Dio here echoes the first line of Menander, Frag. 557 Kock: "In the front ranks of man's woes is war and strife. For they who are fain to annex their neighbors' lands, frequently are defeated and fail, and to them who win."

THE SEVENTEENTH DISCOURSE

rather, all the time, just like some sacred admonition. We know, for instance, that inflamed parts of the body do not yield at once to the first fomentation, but that if the treatment is continued, the swelling is softened and relief is given. So in a like manner we must be well content if we are able to assuage the inflammation in the souls of the many by the unceasing use of the word of reason.

So I maintain in regard to covetousness too, that all men do know it is neither expedient nor honourable, but the cause of the greatest evils; and that in spite of all this, not one man refrains from it or is willing to have equality of possessions with his neighbour. And yet you will find that, although idleness, intemperance and, to express it in general terms, all the other vices without exception are injurious to the very men who practice them; and although those who are addicted to any of them do deservedly, in my opinion, meet with admonishment and condemnation, still you certainly will find that they are not hated or regarded as the common enemies of all mankind. But greed is not only the greatest evil to a man himself, but it injures his neighbours as well.¹ And so no one pities, forsooth, the covetous man or cares to instruct him, but all shun him and regard him as their enemy. If, then, each of those here present wishes to know the enormity of this wickedness, let him consider how he himself feels toward

possessions contribute their own in addition." (Allinson in L.C.L. p. 495) :

*πλεονεξία μέγιστον ἀνθρώποις κακόν·
οἱ γὰρ θέλοντες προσλαβεῖν τὰ τῶν πέλας
ἀποτυγχάνουσι πολλάκις νικάμενοι,
τὰ δ' ἴδια προστιθέασι τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις.*

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

πλεονεκτεῖν· οὗτως γὰρ ἂν συμβάλοι πῶς καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀνάγκη πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἔχειν, ἐὰν γῆ τοιοῦτος. καὶ μὴν ὁ γε Εὐριπίδης, οὐδενὸς ἥττον ἔνδοξος ὡν τῶν ποιητῶν, τὴν Ἰοκάστην εἰσάγει λέγουσαν πρὸς τὸν Ἐτεοκλέα, παρακαλοῦσαν αὐτὸν ἀποστῆναι τοῦ πλεονεκτεῖν τὸν ἀδελφόν, οὕτω πως·

9 τί τῆς κακίστης δαιμόνων ἐφίεσαι
 πλεονεξίας,¹ πᾶν; μὴ σύ γ'. ἄδικος γέθεύς.
 πολλοὺς δ' ἐσ οἴκους καὶ πόλεις εὐδαιμονας
 εἰσῆλθε καξῆλθ' ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ τῶν χρωμένων·
 ἐφ' γῆ σὺ μαίνει. τοῦτο κάλλιστον βροτοῦ,²
 ἵστρητα τιμᾶν καὶ φίλους εἶναι³ φίλοις
 πόλεις τε πόλεσι συμμάχους τε συμμάχοις
 συνδεῖν·⁴ τὸ γὰρ ἵσον νόμιμον ἀνθρώποις ἔφυ,
 τῷ πλέονι δ' ἀεὶ πολέμιον καθίσταται
 τοῦλασσον, ἔχθρᾶς θέμέρας κατάρχεται.

10 παρεθέμην δὲ ἔξῆς τὰ λαμβεῖα· τὸ γὰρ τοῖς
 καλῶς εἰρημένοις αὐτοῖς χρῆσθαι νοῦν ἔχοντός
 ἐστιν.

'Εν δὴ τούτοις ἄπαντα ἔνεστι τὰ συμβαίνοντα
 ἐκ τῆς πλεονεξίας, ὅτι μήτε ἴδιᾳ μήτε κοινῇ
 συμφέρει, τούναντίον δὲ καὶ τὴν τῶν οἴκων εὐδαι-
 μονίαν καὶ τὴν τῶν πόλεων ἀνατρέπει καὶ διαφθείρει
 καὶ πάλιν ὡς νόμος ἀνθρώποις τιμᾶν τὸ ἵσον,
 καὶ τοῦτο μὲν κοινὴν φιλίαν καὶ πᾶσιν εἰρήνην

¹ Euripides' text has φιλοτιμίας, "ambition."

² Euripides' text has κεῖνο κάλλιον, τέκνον.

³ Euripides' text has γή φίλους ἀεί.

⁴ Euripides' text has συνδεῖ.

THE SEVENTEENTH DISCOURSE

those who attempt to overreach him; for in this way he can get an idea as to how other men must feel toward him if he is that sort of man. And further, Euripides too, a poet second to none other in reputation, brings Iocasta on the stage addressing Eteocles and urging him to refrain from trying to overreach his brother, in some such words as these:

At greed, the worst of deities, my son,
Why graspest thou? Do not; she is Queen of
wrong.

Houses many and happy cities enters she,
Nor leaves till ruined are her votaries.
Thou art mad for her!—'tis best to venerate
Equality, which knitteth friends to friends,
Cities to cities, allies to allies.

Nature gave men the law of equal rights,
And the less, ever marshalled against
The greater, ushers in the dawn of hate.¹

I have quoted the iambics in full; for when a thought has been admirably expressed, it marks the man of good sense to use it in that form.²

In this passage, then, are enumerated all the consequences of greed: that it is of advantage neither to the individual nor to the state; but that, on the contrary, it overthrows and destroys the prosperity of families and of states as well; and, in the second place, that the law of men requires us to honour equality, and that this establishes a common bond of friendship and peace for all toward one

¹ Euripides, *Phoenician Women* 531–540 as modified by and adapted from Way in L.C.L. Cf. Plato, *Republic* 349 b ff.

² And yet Dio alters the poet's text in four places, in order to make the quotation support his argument better. Cf. critical notes on the text.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

πρὸς ἀλλήλους ποιεῖ, τὰς δὲ διαφορὰς καὶ τὰς ἐμφύλους ἔριδας καὶ τοὺς ἕξω πολέμους κατ’ οὐδὲν ἔτερον συμβαίνοντας ἢ διὰ τὴν τοῦ πλείονος ἐπιθυμίαν, ἕξ δὲ ἔκαστος καὶ τῶν ἵκανῶν ἀπο-
 11 στερεῖται. καὶ γάρ τοι¹ τί τοῦ ζῆν ἀναγκαιότερόν ἔστιν, ἢ τί τούτου περὶ πλείονος² ποιοῦνται πάντες; ἀλλ’ ὅμως καὶ τοῦτο ἀπολλύσουσι χρημάτων, οἵ δὲ καὶ τὰς πατρίδας τὰς αὐτῶν³ ἀναστάτους ἐποίησαν. μετὰ ταῦτα τοίνυν ὁ αὐτὸς ποιητὴς οὗ φησιν ἐν τοῖς θείοις εἰναι πλεονεξίαν· διὰ τοῦτο ἄφθαρτα καὶ ἀγήρω μένειν αὐτά, τὴν προσήκουσαν ἐν ἔκαστον ἔαυτῷ τάξιν φυλάττοντα, τὴν τε νύκτα καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ τὰς ὥρας. εἰ γὰρ μὴ τοῦτον εἶχε τὸν τρόπον, οὐκ ἂν αὐτῶν οὐδὲν δύνασθαι διαμένειν. ὅταν οὖν καὶ τοῖς θείοις ἡ πλεονεξία φθορὰν ἐπιφέρῃ, τί χρὴ νομίζειν τάνθρωπεια πάσχειν ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς νόσου; καλῶς δὲ μέμνήται καὶ μέτρων καὶ σταθμῶν, ὡς ὑπὲρ⁴ τοῦ δικαίου καὶ τοῦ πλεονεκτεῖν μηδένα μηδενὸς τούτων εὑρημένων.

12 ‘Ο δὲ Ἡσίοδος καὶ πλέον εἶναι τοῦ παντός φησι τὸ ἡμισυ, τὰς ἐκ τοῦ πλεονεκτεῖν βλάβας, οἷμαι, καὶ ζημίας λογιζόμενος. τίς γὰρ πώποτε ἢ βασιλεὺς ἢ δυνάστης ἢ δῆμος ἐπιχειρήσας ὑπερβῆναι τὸ δίκαιον καὶ τοῦ πλείονος ὀρεχθῆναι οὐχ ἀπασαν μὲν τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν εὐδαιμονίαν ἀπ-

¹ καὶ γάρ τοι Sonny: καίτοι.

² πλείονος Reiske: πλείστου.

³ αὐτῶν Dindorf: αὐτῶν.

⁴ ὡς ὑπὲρ Casaubon: ὕσπερ.

THE SEVENTEENTH DISCOURSE

another, whereas quarrels, internal strife, and foreign wars are due to nothing else than the desire for more, with the result that each side is deprived even of a sufficiency. For what is more necessary than life, or what do all men hold as of more importance than this? But nevertheless men will destroy even that for money, and some too have caused even their own fatherlands to be laid waste. The same poet then goes on to say that there is no greed among the divine beings, wherefore they remain indestructible and ageless, each single one keeping its own proper position night and day and through all the seasons. For, the poet adds, if they were not so ordered, none of them would be able to survive. When, therefore, greed would bring destruction even to the divine beings, what disastrous effect must we believe this malady causes to human kind? And he aptly mentions measures and weights as having been invented to secure justice and to prevent any man from over-reaching another.¹

And Hesiod says that the half is even more than the whole,² having in mind, I presume, the injuries and losses resulting from greed. For what king or potentate or people has ever attempted to transgress the principle of justice and grasp at the greater share but he has lost all his former felicity

¹ Dio gives a very free interpretation of the words of Iocasta, *ibid.* 541-546, where her argument is that Equality is the principle which governs the universe, in which

The sightless face of Night, and the Sun's beam
Equally pace along their yearly round,
Nor either enviieth that it must give place.
Sun, then, and Night are servants unto men.

Way in L.C.L.

Works and Days, v. 40.

έβαλε, μεγάλαις δὲ καὶ ἀμηχάνοις ἔχρήσατο συμφοραῖς, ἅπασι δὲ τοῖς μετ' αὐτὸν παραδείγματα ἐμφανῆ τῆς ἀνοίας καὶ τῆς πονηρίας κατέλιπεν; ἦ τίς τῶν ἐλαττοῦσθαι βουλομένων καὶ τὴν δοκοῦσαν ἥτταν ῥᾳδίως ὑπομένειν οὐ πολλαπλάσια μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἔκτήσατο, αὐτομάτως αὐτῷ καὶ δίχα πόνου περιγγυνόμενα, πλεῖστον δὲ χρόνον τὴν εὐημερίαν κατέσχεν, ἀσφαλέστατα δὲ ἔχρήσατο τοῖς παρὰ τῆς τύχης ἀγαθοῖς;

13 Λύτικα γοῦν οἱ τῆς Ἰοκάστης νίεῖς οὐκ, ἐπεὶ διέστησαν τοῦ πλείονος χάριν, ὁ μὲν μόνος ἄρχειν βουλόμενος, ὁ δὲ ἐξ ἅπαντος τρόπου ζητῶν κομίσασθαι τῆς δυναστείας τὸ μέρος, οὐκ ἀδελφοὶ μὲν ὅντες ἀλλήλους ἀπέκτειναν, μεγάλων δὲ κακῶν αἴτιοι κατέστησαν τοῖς συναραμένοις ἀμφότεροι, τῶν μὲν ἐπιστρατευσάντων παραχρῆμα ἀπολομένων, τῶν δὲ ἀμυναμένων¹ μετὰ μικρὸν ἥττηθέντων, ἐπειδὴ τοὺς νεκροὺς οὐκ εἴων ταφῆναι;

14 καὶ μὴν δι' ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς πλεονεξίαν, τοῦ τὴν Ἐλένην ἀρπάσαντος καὶ τὰ τοῦ Μενελάου κτήματα, οἱ τὴν² μεγίστην τῆς Ἀσίας οἰκοῦντες πόλιν ἀπώλοντο μετὰ παιδῶν καὶ γυναικῶν, καὶ μίαν γυναικαν ὑποδεξάμενοι καὶ χρήματα ὀλίγα τηλικαύτην τιμωρίαν ἔτεισαν. ὁ τοίνυν Ξέρξης, ὁ τῆς ἐτέρας ἡπείρου κύριος, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐπεθύμησε καὶ τοσοῦτον στόλον καὶ τοσαύτας μυριάδας συναγαγὼν ἤνεγκεν, ἅπασαν μὲν αἰσχρῶς ἀπέβαλε τὴν δύναμιν, μόλις δὲ τὸ σῶμα ἵσχυσε διασῶσαι φεύγων αὐτός. πορθούμένης δὲ μετὰ

¹ ἀμυναμένων Emperorius : αἰτιωμένων.

² τὴν added by Wilamowitz.

THE SEVENTEENTH DISCOURSE

and has suffered great and overpowering disasters, bequeathing to all men thereafter unmistakable examples of folly and wickedness? Or of those who were willing to receive the lesser share and to endure cheerfully the seeming defeat, what man has not gained more than the others many times over, things that accrued to him automatically and without effort on his part, and has gained for the longest time fair prosperity and in the greatest security has enjoyed Fortune's blessings?

Illustrations are at hand: Did not the sons of Iocasta,¹ when they became at variance in their desire for more, the one wishing to be sole ruler, and the other seeking by fair means or foul to secure his portion of the kingdom—did they not, though brothers, slay each the other and bring the greatest evils, both of them, upon those who espoused their causes, since the invaders of the land straightway perished, while those who fought to defend it were worsted soon after because they would not allow the corpses to be buried? And again, on account of the greed of one man who carried off Helen and the possessions of Menelaus, the inhabitants of Asia's greatest city perished along with their children and wives, and for harbouring one woman and a little property they paid so huge a penalty. Then take the case of Xerxes, the master of the other continent. When he cast covetous eyes upon Greece too, and collected and brought against her so mighty a fleet and so many myriads, he shamefully lost all his armament and with difficulty saved his own person by taking to flight himself; and after-

¹ Eteocles and Polyneices.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

ταῦτα τῆς χώρας καὶ τῶν πόλεων τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ
 15 φέρειν ἡναγκάζετο. καὶ μὴν Πολυκράτην φασίν,
 ἔως μὲν Σάμου μόνης ἥρχεν, εὐδαιμονέστατον
 ἀπάντων γενέσθαι· βουλόμενον δέ τι καὶ τῶν
 πέραν πολυπραγμονέν, διαπλεύσαντα πρὸς Ὄροί-
 την, ὡς χρήματα λάβοι, μηδὲ ῥαδίου γε θανάτου
 τυχεῖν, ἀλλὰ ἀνασκολοπισθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ βαρβάρου
 διαφθαρῆναι.

Ταῦτα μέν, ἦν δὲ παραδείγματα ὑμῖν, ἵκε τε τῶν
 σφόδρα παλαιῶν καὶ τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ τῶν ἐν
 ποιήμασι καὶ τῶν ἄλλως ἴστοροι μέντοι παρήμεγκα.
 16 ἄξιον δὲ ἐνθυμηθῆναι καὶ τὸν θεόν, ὡς κάκενος
 κολάζειν πέφυκε τοὺς πλεονεκτοῦντας. Λακεδαι-
 μονίοις γὰρ χρωμένοις, εἰ δίδωσιν αὐτοῖς τὴν
 Ἀρκαδίαν, οὐ μόνον ἀπεῖπε καὶ τὴν ἀπληστίαν
 ὠνείδισεν, οὕτως εἰπών.

Ἀρκαδίην μὲν αἴτεῖς, μέγα μὲν αἴτεῖς, οὕτοι
 δώσω.

ἄλλὰ καὶ τιμωρίαν αὐτοῖς ἐπέθηκε, προειπὼν
 μὲν τὸ μέλλον, οὕτως δὲ ὥστε ἐκείνους μὴ συνέντας
 ἐπὶ Τεγέαν στρατεύεσθαι καὶ ταῖς γιγνωσκομέναις
 ὑπὸ πάντων συμφορᾶς περιπεσεῖν. καίτοι
 φανερῶς τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν αὐτοῖς ἀρνούμενος οὐδὲ
 τὴν Τεγέαν ἐδίδου. τὸ γὰρ ἴσχυρότατον¹ τῆς Ἀρ-
 καδίας καὶ μέγιστον τοῦτ' ἦν. ἀλλ' ὅλως² διὰ
 τὴν πλεονεξίαν οὐδὲ ὥτα ἔχουσιν οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν
 ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲ τῶν λεγομένων αἰσθάνονται.

¹ ἴσχυρότατον Pflugk: ἴσχυρὸν.

² ὅλως Sonny: ὅμως.

¹ See Herodotus 3. 120–125.

² Ibid., 1. 66.

THE SEVENTEENTH DISCOURSE

wards he was forced to endure the ravishing of his country and of his cities on the seacoast. As a further illustration take Polycrates: They say that so long as he was ruler of Samos alone he enjoyed the greatest felicity of any man in the whole world; but that when he wished to meddle somewhat in the affairs of the people of the opposite mainland and sailed across for the purpose of getting money from Oroetes, he met with no easy death, but was impaled by that barbarian prince and thus perished.¹

These instances, in order that they be warning examples to you, I have taken not only from exceedingly ancient, but also from subsequent times, and as related both in poetry and in narrative prose. Then it is worth your while to call to mind the attitude of the god likewise, that he also by his very nature punishes the covetous. When, for instance, the Spartans consulted his oracle to ask if he gave Arcadia to them, he not only refused them, but rebuked their insatiable greed in the following words:

Arcadia thou askest of me? 'Tis much! Nay,
give it I'll not,

but also imposed a penalty upon them and foretold the future, yet in such a way that they did not understand, but marched against Tegea to meet with disasters known of all men. And yet, while plainly denying Arcadia to them, he would not give them Tegea either. For this was the strongest and most important place in Arcadia.² But, speaking generally, the majority of mankind are so covetous that they have not even ears to hear, nor do they so much as understand words of warning when spoken.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

17 Πάλιν τούνν ¹Αθηναίοις ἐρωτῶσι περὶ τῆς νήσου Σικελίας ἔχρησε προσλαβεῖν τῇ πόλει τὴν Σικελίαν, λόφον τινὰ ἐγγὺς ὅντα τῆς πόλεως. οἱ δὲ τῶν μὲν παρακειμένων καὶ τῶν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἡμέλησαν· οὕτως ἔκφρονες ὑπῆρχον διὰ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν τοῦ πλείονος, ὥστε τὸν θεὸν αὐτοῖς ἐνόμιζον λέγειν ἐν ἐνὶ τείχει περιλαβεῖν τὰς ²Αθήνας καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ μυρίων που σταδίων οὖσαν νήσουν. τοιγαροῦν ἐκεῖσε πλεύσαντες οὐ μόνον Σικελίας διήμαρτον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ³Αττικῆς ἐστερήθησαν, καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴν ἐπεῖδον ἐπὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις γεγενημένην.

18 Καὶ τὰ μὲν τοιαῦτα εἰ θέλοι τις ἐπεξιέναι, δῆλον ὡς οὐδέ² ἐν ἔτει ¹ ἐπιλείψει. σκοπεῖτε ² δ' ὅτι τὴν ἴσχυν οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν ἀγαθῶν εἶναι νομίζουσιν. ἀλλ', οἶμαι, τοῖς ἐπ' ἄκρον ἴσχύουσι καὶ λίαν ὑπερβάλλουσι τῇ κατὰ τὸ σῶμα εὐεξίᾳ συμφέρει μέρος τι αὐτῆς ἀφελεῖν· τὸ γάρ πλέον, οἶμαι, τοῦ συμμέτρου παγχάλεπον. ὅμοιώς ὁ πλοῦτος ἔχων τὴν ³ χρείαν, ἐὰν μὲν ἢ μέτριος, οὐ λυπεῖ τοὺς ἔχοντας, ἀλλ' εὐχερέστερον καὶ τῇ Δῃ⁴ ἀνεπιδεῆ παρέχει τὸν βίον· ἐὰν δὲ ὑπερβάλῃ, πλείονας παρέχει τὰς φροντίδας καὶ τὰ λυπηρά τῆς δοκούσης ἡδονῆς, καὶ πολλοὶ μετενόησαν σφόδρα πλουτήσαντες, οἱ δὲ δι' αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἀποροι καὶ τῶν ἐλαχίστων κατέστησαν.

19 Εἰεν· ἀλλ' ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς, εἰ τῶν τῆς φύσεως μερῶν ἔκαστον ἐθέλοι πλεονεκτεῖν, ἔσθ' ὅπως

¹ οὐδέ² ἐν ἔτει Emperius: οὐδένεν ἔτι.

² σκοπεῖτε Emperius: σκοπεῖ M, σκοπεῖν UB.

³ τῇ Emperius: τινὰ.

THE SEVENTEENTH DISCOURSE

At another time, when the Athenians asked about the island of Sicily, the oracle answered that they should annex to their city 'Sicily,' this being the name of a hill near the city.¹ But they paid no attention to what was near at hand and before their eyes; so bereft of sense were they on account of their lust for more, that they imagined the god was telling them to enclose within one wall Athens and an island some ten thousand stades distant. As a result they sailed thither, and not only failed to get Sicily, but lost Attica as well, and saw their city itself in the hands of her enemies.

And if you should wish to enumerate all such examples as these, it is clear that not even in a year's time would you run out of them. Then consider, I beg of you, that most men regard physical strength as one of the blessings of life; yet I believe that in the case of those who have the greatest physical strength and greatly excel in bodily vigour, it is of advantage to sacrifice a part of this; for in my opinion what exceeds the right proportion is very troublesome. In the same manner wealth which may be put to use does not, if it be moderate, injure its possessor, but makes his life easier and certainly frees it from want; but if it becomes excessive, it causes far more worries and troubles than that which passes for pleasure; and many have rued the day when they acquired enormous wealth, while some for this very reason have come to lack even the barest necessities.

So far so good! But let us take our own selves: If each element that makes up our being should wish to have the advantage, would it be possible for us to

¹ That is, of Athens; see Pausanias 8. 11. 12.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

τὸν βραχύτατον καιρὸν διαμεῖαι δυνησόμεθα; λέγω δὲ οἶον εἰ πλέον τινὶ τοῦ συμμέτρου αἷμα γίγνοιτο, ἢ νὴ Δία τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ θερμὸν ὃ τι δήποτ’ ἐν ἡμῖν ἐπιτείνοι παρὰ τὴν σύμμετρον καὶ τὴν προσήκουσαν, οὐχὶ μεγάλας ἐπίστασθε καὶ χαλεπὰς ἐκ τούτων ἀπαντᾶν νόσους; ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἄρμονίαις τῶν ὄργανών τούτων, εἰ πλεονεκτήσειε τῶν χορδῶν¹ τις τῇ τάσει, πρὸς τοῦ Διὸς οὐκ ἀνάγκη πᾶσαν λελύσθαι τὴν ἄρμονίαν;

20 Σφόδρα δ’ ἔγωγε θαυμάζω τί ἂν ἐποιήσαμεν, εἰ μὴ καὶ τοῦ βίου τὸ ἐλάχιστον παρὰ τῶν θεῶν μέτρον εἴχομεν· ἀλλ’,² ὥσπερ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα παρασκευαζόμενοι πλέον ἄλλος ἄλλου φιλοτιμούμεθα ἔχειν. ὥσπερ οὖν εἰ τις εἰδὼς ὅτι ἡ δύ’ ἢ τριῶν ἡμερῶν, ἐὰν πλεῖστος διαγένηται χρόνος, ἔχει πλοῦν, ἔπειτα δὲ ἐνιαυτοῦ σῆτα ἐμβάλοιτο, ἀνόητος δόξει· τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, εἰ τις ἐπιστάμενος ὅτι πλείω τῶν ἑβδομήκοντα ἐτῶν οὐκ ἂν βιώσειεν, εἰς ἕτη χλια πορίζοιτο βίον οὐκ ἵσως³ καὶ ὁμοίως ἂν εἴη μανόμενος; ἔνιοι μὲν γὰρ τοσαῦτα παρασκευάζονται, ὡς εἰ γ’ ἔπλεον, εὐθὺς ἂν καταδῦναι τὴν ναῦν. καὶ νὴ Δία γε συμβαίνει μυρίοις.

21 Εἰεν· εἰ δὲ δή τις ἐφ’ ἐστίασιν κεκληκὼς δέκα ἀνθρώπους ἢ πεντεκαΐδεκα, τοσούτους⁴ αὐτὸν ἐμπλῆσαι δέον, ὃ δὲ πεντακοσίοις ἢ χιλίοις ἐτοιμάζοι τροφήν, οὐ παντελῶς ἐξεστάναι δόξει;

¹ χορδῶν Cohoon: φθόγγων.

² οἵ γε Capps, οἵ γε καὶ νῦν Emperius, οἵπερ καὶ νῦν Arnim: ἀλλ’.

³ οὐκ ἵσως καὶ ὁμοίως Rouse: ἵσως οὐχ ὁμοίως. Geel and Arnim delete ἵσως.

⁴ τοσούτους Capps: τούτους.

THE SEVENTEENTH DISCOURSE

keep alive for the shortest time? I mean, for example, if the blood should increase a little beyond the proper proportion, or even if something or other in us should increase the pressure of the warm breath beyond its due and proper proportion, do you not know that serious and dangerous illnesses inevitably come on? And in the harmonies of these instruments of our bodies, if any one of the strings should get more than its share of tension, in Heaven's name must not the harmony as a whole be destroyed?¹

As for me, I wonder greatly how we should have acted if we had not received the shortest span of life from the gods! However, just as if we were making our plans for an endless life, we strive earnestly each to have more than his neighbour. Just as any man, then, who knowing that he has a voyage of only two or three days' duration at the most before him, should nevertheless put enough provisions on board to last a year, will be regarded as a fool; in the same way, any man who, being fully aware that he could not live more than the allotted span of seventy years, should provide himself with substance to last him a thousand years would he not be equally and in the same way insane? Indeed there are some who lay in stores so great that, if they were out at sea, their ship would founder at once. And I swear it does happen to countless numbers.

So much for that. Well then, if a man has invited ten or fifteen guests to a banquet and although needing to satisfy only so many, should then go on and make ready food enough for five hundred or a thousand, will he not be thought to be quite out of his

¹ Cf. Plato, *Republic* 1. 349d ff.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

τοιγαροῦν καὶ ἡμεῖς εἰδότες τὰς τοῦ σώματος χρείας εὐαριθμήτους τινάς· ἐσθῆτος γάρ, οἶμαι, καὶ σκέπης καὶ τροφῆς δεόμεθα· ἔπειτα κατατεινόμεθα ὥσπερ στρατοπέδω τὰ ἐπιτήδεια συνάγοντες· καὶ νὴ Δία γε εἰκότως. οἱ γὰρ πολλοὶ βόσκουσι παρ' ἑαυτοῖς τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν στρατόπεδον. καὶ ἐσθῆτα μὲν οὐδεὶς βούλεται μείζω τοῦ σώματος ἔχειν, ὡς δύσχρηστον ὅν· οὐσίαιν δὲ τῷ παιτὶ μείζω τῆς χρείας ἔχειν ἀπαιτεῖς ἐπιθυμιοῦσιν, οὐκ εἰδότες ὅτι τοῦτο ἐκείνου χαλεπώτερον.

22 Δοκεῖ δέ μοι Κροῖσος καλῶς ὁ Λυδός, τὴν ἀπληστίαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐλέγξαι βουλόμενος, εἰς τοὺς θησαυροὺς εἰσαγαγών τινας τοσοῦτο χρυσίον αὐτοῖς ἐπιτρέπειν ἔξενεγκεῖν ὅσον ἔκαστος ἄν δύνηται τῷ σώματι. τοὺς γὰρ πολλοὺς οὐ μόνον τὸν κόλπον ἐμπλήσαντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ τοῦ ψήγματος ἐκφέρειν καὶ τῷ στόματι, καὶ μόλις πορεύεσθαι πάνυ γελοίους καὶ διεστραμμένους. οὕτως ἡγοῦμαι¹ καὶ κατὰ τὸν βίον πορεύεσθαι τινας ἀσχημονοῦντας ὑπὸ τῆς πλεονεξίας καὶ καταγελάστους ὅντας.

¹ ἡγοῦμαι Capps: οὖν. Reiske retains οὖν and adds ἡγοῦμαι after βίον.

THE SEVENTEENTH DISCOURSE

mind? In like manner we also, although we know that the needs of the body are easy enough to count—for clothing, I suppose, and shelter and nourishment we do need—nevertheless strain ourselves to the utmost as if we were gathering supplies for an army and, I swear, there is good reason for our doing so; for the great majority are feeding in their hearts a whole army of desires. As for clothing, nobody wants to have it too large for his body, knowing that it would be inconvenient to wear; but property altogether too large for their needs all men crave, not understanding that this is more objectionable than the other.

I think, too, that Croesus the Lydian, when he wanted to expose the insatiable greed of men, did this admirably. He conducted a group of men into his treasure-house and permitted them to take away just as much gold as each man could carry on his person. For we see that most of them not only filled the bosoms of their clothing, but carried away some of the dust upon their heads and in their mouths and that they could scarcely walk, cutting a ridiculous figure, all twisted out of shape as they were.¹ In life also, methinks, certain men walk along in an unseemly posture and cut a ridiculous figure on account of their greed.

¹ See Herodotus, 6. 125 and compare *Discourse* 78. 32.

THE EIGHTEENTH DISCOURSE: ON TRAINING FOR PUBLIC SPEAKING

Dio Chrysostom, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and Quintilian, gave select lists of authors for students to read. The fact that there are no great divergences in these lists gives the impression that there was general agreement in the ancient schools as to which were the best authors for students. Dio's list we expect to differ in some respects from Quintilian's because Quintilian, whose primary interest was in the Latin language, gives a select list of Latin writers as well; and in the second place, Dio was giving advice to a wealthy and influential man of mature years who wished to take some part in public life, but lacked the leisure or the inclination to work hard in order to fit himself for this, whereas Quintilian was writing for the benefit of youths whose chief interest was in the eloquence of the bar.

After complimenting this prosperous man and eulogizing oratory Dio proceeds to give his list, naming poets, historians, orators in this order; and then, without regard to the type of their literary works, he refers in general terms to the followers of Socrates. Through mentioning them last he gains a good opportunity to speak at length and in the highest terms of Xenophon, whom he so greatly admired, in this respect differing somewhat from the majority of modern critics.

In poetry it is the writers of Comedy and Tragedy that are really useful for the purpose he has in view, although the epic poet Homer is, of course, supreme. Other types of poetry his wealthy friend will not have time to read. Among the historians he gives the first place to Thucydides, and among the orators to Demosthenes, although he believes that Hypereides and Aeschines will be of more practical benefit because not so difficult to imitate. It is at first sight strange that he does not

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

mention Isocrates at all, but probably he thought his long involved sentences not a suitable model for his correspondent. Of philosophers Dio names none at all if we except the indirect reference to Socrates, although we know from his writings that he must have been familiar with Plato; and the only reference to philosophy is where he says, *περι της φιλοσοφίας* with approval, that Euripides had some knowledge : on the other hand ends his list of Greek writers by naming as philosophers Plato, Xenophon, Aristotle, and Theophrastus.

Then comes the question as to whether this man in training himself to be an orator should write or dictate to a secretary. Dio thinks it better for him to dictate and advises him especially not to write school exercises, in all this taking a position opposite to that of Quintilian.

As to when Dio wrote this letter and to whom, great diversity of opinion prevails, since we have nothing to guide us except the contents of the letter itself and our imperfect knowledge of Dio's life and the progressive change in his views. However, since Dio represents himself as considerably younger than the man he addresses, who was at the height of his powers, it does seem reasonable to refer this letter to the period before Dio's banishment. Even then he was probably at least forty years old. A further consideration is the fact that Dio does not recommend the reading of any philosophical works to this would-be orator, as he certainly would have done after he became a convert to philosophy.

Von Arnim, who takes *στρατηγοῖς* in § 16, where Dio is speaking of the advantages to be derived from a study of Xenophon's speeches, to mean 'provincial Governors,' *βασιλικοῖς* to mean 'imperial officials,' and *πλῆθος* 'the commons or citizen body' of a Greek state, notes that *στρατιῶται* (soldiers) are not expressly mentioned, and infers from this that Dio's correspondent has nothing to do with soldiers, but does have to deal with Roman provincial governors and imperial officials, and therefore is not a Roman himself, but a local Greek official occupying a high position in some large Greek city of Asia Minor. Von Arnim further supports this view by Dio, Xenophon's speeches teach " in authority over you" —good to Romans, and how a statesman can encourage the despondent—knowledge not needed by a Roman governor. He concludes his argument

EIGHTEENTH DISCOURSE: ON TRAINING

by saying that a Roman studied rhetoric solely for formal intellectual training. It might be objected, however, that Cicero and Caesar did not study it for this purpose alone.

As to why this man of high position wished such elementary instruction, and he a Greek, Dio suggests that for some especial reasons he had failed to get rhetorical training in his youth, or that he lived far removed from the centres of Greek culture. Finally, von Arnim faintly hints that Dio's correspondent may have been Vespasian before he became emperor. Wilhelm Christ suggests that the man was Nerva before his elevation to the position of emperor, while Hammer and Lemarchand support the view that Dio's letter was not addressed to any actual person.

18. ΠΕΡΙ ΛΟΓΟΥ ΑΣΚΗΣΕΩΣ

1 Πολλάκις ἐπαινέσας τὸν σὸν τρόπον ὡς ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ καὶ ἀξίου πρωτεύειν ἐν τοῖς ἀρίστοις, οὐδέποτε πρότερον ἐθαύμασα ὡς νῦν. τὸ γὰρ ἥλικίας τε ἐν τῷ ἀκμαιοτάτῳ ὅντα καὶ δυνάμει οὐδενὸς λειπόμενον καὶ ἄφθονα κεκτημένον, καὶ πάσης ἔξουσίας οὕσης δι' ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς τρυφᾶν, ὅμως ἔτι παιδείας ὀρέγεσθαι καὶ φιλοκαλεῖν περὶ τὴν τῶν λόγων ἐμπειρίαν καὶ μὴ ὀκνεῖν, μηδὲ εἰ πονεῖν δέοι, σφόδρα μοι ἔδοξε γενναίας ψυχῆς καὶ οὐ φιλοτίμου μόνον, ἀλλὰ τῷ ὅντι φιλοσόφου ἔργον εἶναι. καὶ γὰρ τῶν παλαιῶν οἱ ἄριστοι οὐ μόνον ἀκμάζειν μανθάνοντες, ἀλλὰ 2 καὶ γηράσκειν ἔφασκον. πάνυ δὲ σύ μοι δοκεῖς φρονεῖν, ἥγονός πολιτικῷ ἀνδρὶ δεῖν λόγων ἐμπειρίας τε καὶ δυνάμεως. καὶ γὰρ πρὸς τὸ ἀγαπᾶσθαι καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἴσχύειν καὶ πρὸς τὸ τιμᾶσθαι καὶ πρὸς τὸ μὴ καταφρονεῖσθαι πλείστη ἀπὸ τούτου ὡφέλεια. τίνι μὲν γὰρ μᾶλλον ἀνθρωποι δείσαντες θαρροῦσιν ἢ λόγῳ; τίνι δὲ ἔξυβρίζοντες καὶ ἐπαιρόμενοι καθαιροῦνται καὶ κολάζονται;

THE EIGHTEENTH DISCOURSE: ON TRAINING FOR PUBLIC SPEAKING

ALTHOUGH I had often praised your character as that of a good man who is worthy to be first among the best, yet I never admired it before as I do now. For that a man in the very prime of life and second to no one in influence, who possesses great wealth and has every opportunity to live in luxury by day and night, should in spite of all this reach out for education also and be eager to acquire training in eloquent speaking, and should display no hesitation even if it should cost toil, seems to me to give proof of an extraordinarily noble soul and one not only ambitious, but in very truth devoted to wisdom. And for that matter the best of the ancients said that they went on learning not only in the prime of life but also as they grew old.¹ And you, as it seems to me, are altogether wise in believing that a statesman needs experience and training in public speaking and in eloquence. For it is true that this will prove of very great help toward making him beloved and influential and esteemed instead of being looked down upon. For when men are afraid, what does more to inspire them than the spoken word? And when they wax insolent and uplifted in spirit, what more effectively brings them down and chastens

¹ Solon said: "I keep learning many things as I grow old"—*γηράσκω δ' αἰεὶ πολλὰ διδασκόμενος*. See Plutarch, *Life of Solon* 31b, and compare Cicero, *De Senectute* 8. 26.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

τίνι δὲ ἐπιθυμιῶν ἀπέχονται; τίνα δὲ νουθετοῦντα πραότερον φέρουσιν η̄ οὐ¹ λόγω εὐφραίνονται;²

3 πολλάκις γοῦν³ ἔστιν ἵδεν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἀναλίσκοντας⁴ μὲν ἑτέρους καὶ χαριζομένους καὶ ἀναθήμασι κοσμοῦντας, ἐπαινουμένους δὲ τοὺς λέγοντας, ὡς καὶ αὐτῶν ἐκείνων αἰτίους. διὸ καὶ τῶν ποιητῶν οἱ ἀρχαιότατοι καὶ παρὰ θεῶν τὴν ποίησιν λαβόντες οὕτε τοὺς ἰσχυροὺς οὕτε τοὺς καλοὺς ὡς θεοὺς ἔφασαν ὅρâσθαι, ἀλλὰ τοὺς λέγοντας. ὅτι μὲν δὴ ταῦτα καὶ συνεώρακας καὶ ἐπιχειρεῖς πράττειν, ἐπαινῶ σε καὶ θαυμάζω.

4 Χάριν δὲ οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν οἶδα ὑπὲρ ἐμαυτοῦ, ὅτι με πρὸς τὴν διάνοιαν ταύτην καὶ τὸ ἐγχείρημα χρήσιμον σαυτῷ νενόμικας. μέχρι νῦν μὲν γάρ, ὥσπερ τις ἔφη τῶν παλαιῶν αὐτῷ ἵκανὸς⁵ εἴναι μάντις, καγὼ ἔξαρκεῖν ὥμην ἐμαυτῷ περὶ τοὺς λόγους, μόγις καὶ τοῦτο. σὺ δέ με ἐπαίρεις καὶ θαρρεῖν ἀναπείθεις, εἰ ἀνδρὶ καὶ παιδείᾳ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἥκοντι καὶ τηλικούτῳ δύναμαι χρήσιμος εἴναι. δυναίμην δ' ἀν τυχόν, ὥσπερ ὁδὸν ἴόντι μάλα ἰσχυρῷ καὶ ἀκμάζοντι πᾶς η̄ τις πρεσ-

¹ η̄ οὐ Herwerden: οὐ.

² εὐφραίνονται Reiske: εὐφραίνοντα UB, εὐφραίνοντας M.

³ γοῦν Wilamowitz: οὖν.

⁴ ἀναλίσκοντας Casaubon: ἀναδιδάσκοντας.

⁵ ἵκανὸς Goerlitz: κακὸς UB, κακῶς M.

¹ But Homer does apply the term *θεοειδῆς* (godlike in appearance) to Alexander or Paris (*Iliad* 3. 16), to Telemachus (*Odyssey* 14. 173) and the term *θεοείκελος* (godlike) to Achilles (*Iliad* 1. 131). Τιτάνες οὐδὲν τέλος. 20 c. 6) applies this latter term to Hector Τιτάνες οὐδὲν τέλος. Plutarch (2. 988 d) says: "The poets call the beautiful 'godlike in form'" —οἱ ποιηταὶ τοὺς καλοὺς θεοειδεῖς ὄντος.

EIGHTEENTH DISCOURSE : ON TRAINING

them? What has greater influence in keeping them from indulging their desires? Whose admonitions do they endure more meekly than the man's whose speech delights them? Time and again, at any rate, there may be seen in our cities one group of men ~~enjoying~~, handing out largess, adorning their city ~~with buildings~~, but the orators who support these measures getting the applause, as though they and not the others had brought these things about. For this same reason the poets of the earliest times, who received their gift of poetry from the gods, never spoke of either the strong or the beautiful as being 'looked upon as gods,'¹ but reserved this praise for the orators. So it is because you not only have observed all this, but are also endeavouring to put it into practice that I commend and admire you.

And I acknowledge on my own behalf a gratitude beyond the ordinary because you have believed that I could be useful to you in carrying out this purpose and this endeavour. For up to the present, as one of the writers of old said that he was 'a good enough prophet for his own self,'² so I too considered that I should do well enough for myself in oratory, though barely even that. But you elate me and persuade me to take courage, in the hope that I can be of use to one who not only has attained so high a degree of culture, but is also as gifted as yourself. And perhaps I could, just as a boy or some aged herdsman might, be useful to a strong and vigorous

² A reference to Plato, *Phaedrus* 242 c : "Now I am in truth a seer, although not a good one, but, just as is the case with those who write a poor hand, merely sufficient for myself alone"—εἰμὶ δὴ οὖν μάντις μέν, οὐ πάνυ δὲ σπουδαῖος, ἀλλ', ὥσπερ οἱ τὰ γράμματα φαῦλοι, ὅσον μὲν ἐμαντῶ μόνον ἵκανός.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

βύτης ἐνίστε νομεὺς ἐπίτομον δεῖξας η̄ λεωφόρου,
ἢν οὐκ ἔτυχεν εἰδώς.

5 'Αλλ' ἵνα μὴ πολλὰ¹ πρὸ τοῦ πράγματος, ἢδη
οὶς προσέταξας ἐγχειρητέον.

Μειρακίω μὲν οὖν ἡ̄ νέω ἀνδρὶ τοῦ τε πράττειν
ἀποχωρῆσαι βουλομένῳ καὶ πρὸς ἀσκήσει γενέ-
σθαι καὶ δύναμιν περιποιήσασθαι ἀγωνιστικήν,
ἐτέρων² ἔργων³ τε καὶ πράξεων δεῖ. σὺ δὲ οὔτε
ἄπειρος τοῦ ἔργου οὔτε ἀπολιπεῖν τὸ πράττειν
δύνασαι οὔτε χρήζεις δικανικῆς δυνάμεως τε καὶ
δεινότητος, ἀλλὰ τῆς πολιτικῷ ἀνδρὶ πρεπούσης
6 τε ἄμα καὶ ἀρκούσης. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ πρῶτον
ἴσθι, ὅτι οὐ δεῖ σοι πόνου καὶ ταλπιπωρίας· τῷ
μὲν γάρ ἐπὶ πολὺ ἀσκήσαντι ταῦτα ἐπὶ πλεῖστον
προάγει, τῷ δὲ ἐπ' ὀλίγον χρησαμένῳ συλλήψει⁴
τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ ὀκνηρὰν ποιεῖ προσφέρεσθαι,
καθάπερ τοὺς ἀσυνήθεις περὶ σώματος ἀσκησιν
εἴ̄ τις κοπώσειε βαρυτέροις γυμνασίοις, ἀσθενε-
στέρους ἐποίησεν· ἀλλὰ ὥσπερ⁵ τοὺς ἀήθεσι
τοῦ⁶ πονεῖν σώμασιν⁷ ἀλειφεως⁸ δεῖ μᾶλλον
καὶ κινήσεως συμμέτρον ἡ̄ γυμνασίας, οὕτω σοὶ
περὶ τοὺς λόγους ἐπιμελείας⁹ ἐστὶ χρεία μᾶλλον
ἡδονῆ¹⁰ μεμιγμένης ἡ̄ ἀσκήσεως καὶ πόνου.

¹ λέγω added by Dindorf after πολλὰ.

² ἀγωνιστικήν, ἐτέρων Capps: ὁ ἀγωνοτέρων M, ὁ ἀγὼν ἐτέρων
UB, λόγων ἐτέρων T.

³ λόγων instead of ἔργων conjectured by Capps, cf. § 17
infra.

⁴ Instead of συλλήψει Casaubon conjectured συλλυπεῖ,
Goerlitz συντέλει, Emperius συννεφεῖ.

⁵ ὥσπερ Dindorf: ὥσ.

⁶ ἀήθεσι τοῦ Pflugk: ἀήθεσι M, ἀηθίστοις UB.

⁷ σώμασιν Emperius: σώματος.

⁸ ἀλειφεως anonymous emendator in Reiske: ἀπολειφεως.

EIGHTEENTH DISCOURSE : ON TRAINING

wayfarer in pointing out a shorter road or a beaten track of which he did not happen to know.

But to cut my preface short,¹ I must at once endeavour to carry out your instructions.

For a mere lad, now, or a young man who wishes to withdraw from political life and devote himself to training and to the acquisition of forensic ability, there is need of a different regimen in both tasks and activities. But you are not unacquainted with the task, nor are you able to forsake the political career, nor is it the eloquence and effectiveness of a pleader in the courts of law of which you stand in need, but rather that which is alike fitting and sufficient for a statesman. So first of all, you should know that you have no need of toil or exacting labour; for although, when a man has already undergone a great deal of training, these contribute very greatly to his progress, yet if he has had only a little, they will lessen his confidence and make him diffident about getting into action; just as with athletes who are unaccustomed to the training of the body, such training weakens them if they become fatigued by exercises which are too severe. But just as bodies unaccustomed to toil need anointing and moderate exercise rather than the training of the gymnasium, so you in preparing yourself for public speaking have need of diligence which has a tempering of pleasure rather than laborious training.

¹ πολλὰ πρὸ τοῦ πράγματος—"many words before action" is apparently a proverbial expression.

⁹ ἐπιμελή : Επιμελής : ἐ-ιμέλεια B, ἐπιμελείᾳ UM.

¹⁰ ἡδονῆ Επικαλλεῖσθαι.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

Τῶν μὲν δὴ ποιητῶν συμβουλεύσαιμ' ἄν σοι Μενάνδρω τε τῶν κωμικῶν μὴ παρέργως ἐντυγχάνειν καὶ Εὐριπίδη τῶν τραγικῶν, καὶ τούτοις μὴ οὕτως, αὐτὸν ἀναγιγνώσκοντα, ἀλλὰ δι'¹ ἔτέρων ἐπισταμένων μάλιστα μὲν καὶ ἥδεως, εἰ δ' οὖν, ἀλύπως ὑποκρίνασθαι· πλείων γὰρ ἡ αἰσθησις ἀπαλλαγέντι τῆς περὶ τὸ ἀναγιγνώσκειν² 7 ἀσχολίας. καὶ μηδεὶς τῶν ποφωτέρων αἰτιάσηται με ὡς προκρίναντα τῆς ἀρχαίας κωμῳδίας τὴν Μενάνδρου ἢ τῶν ἀρχαίων τραγῳδῶν Εὐριπίδην· οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ ἵατροὶ τὰς πολυτελεστάτας τρυφᾶς συντάττουσι τοῖς θεραπείας δεομένοις, ἀλλὰ τὰς ὡφελίμους. πολὺ δ' ἄν ἔργον εἴη τὸ λέγειν ὅσα ἀπὸ τούτων χρήσιμα· ἢ τε γὰρ τοῦ Μενάνδρου μίμησις ἀπαντος ἥθους καὶ χάριτος πᾶσαν ὑπερβέβληκε τὴν δεινότητα τῶν παλαιῶν κωμικῶν, ἢ τε Εὐριπίδου προσήνεια καὶ πιθανότης τοῦ μὲν τραγικοῦ ἀπαθανατισμοῦ³ καὶ ἀξιώματος τυχὸν οὐκ ἄν τελέως ἐφικνοῦτο, πολιτικῷ δὲ ἀνδρὶ πάνυ ὡφέλιμος, ἔτι δὲ ἥθη καὶ πάθη δεινὸς πληρῶσαι, καὶ γνώμας πρὸς ἀπαντα ὡφελίμους καταμίγνυσι τοῖς ποιήμασιν, ἃτε φιλοσοφίας οὐκ ἄπειρος ὡν.

8 "Ομηρος δὲ καὶ πρῶτος καὶ μέσος καὶ ὕστατος, παντὶ παιδὶ καὶ ἀνδρὶ καὶ γέροντι τοσοῦτον ἀφ' αὐτοῦ διδοὺς ὅσον ἔκαστος δύναται λαβεῖν. μέλη

¹ ἀλλὰ δι' added by Emperius.

² ἀναγιγνώσκειν Valesius: γιγνώσκειν UM, γινώσκειν B.

³ ἀπαθανατισμοῦ Capps, cf. Longinus 16. 3, ἀπαυθαδήματος Reiske, ἀπαυθαδίσματος Cobet, ἀναστήματος Wilamowitz: ἀπαυθήματος UBM, παθήματος T.

¹ Cf. Longinus, *De Sublim.* 16. 3: "Moreover the poet in his oath does not make divinities of the men—οὐχὶ ἀπαθανατίζει.

EIGHTEENTH DISCOURSE : ON TRAINING

So let us consider the poets: I would counsel you to read Menander of the writers of Comedy quite carefully, and Euripides of the writers of Tragedy, and to do so, not casually by reading them to yourself, but by having them read to you by others, preferably by men who know how to render the lines pleasurable, but at any rate so as not to offend. For the effect is enhanced when one is relieved of the preoccupation of reading. And let no one of the more 'advanced' critics chide me for selecting Menander's plays in preference to the Old Comedy, or Euripides in preference to the early writers of Tragedy. For physicians do not prescribe the most costly diet for their patients, but that which is salutary. Now it would be a long task to enumerate all the advantages to be derived from these writers; indeed, not only has Menander's portrayal of every character and every charming trait surpassed all the skill of the early writers of Comedy, but the suavity and plausibility of Euripides, while perhaps not completely attaining to the grandeur of the tragic poet's¹ way of deifying his characters, or to his high dignity, are very useful for the man in public life; and furthermore, he cleverly fills his plays with an abundance of characters and moving incidents, and strews them with maxims useful on all occasions, since he was not without acquaintance with philosophy.²

But Homer comes first and in the middle and last, in that he gives of himself to every boy and adult and old man just as much as each of them can take.

¹ Quintilian (*Instituto Oratoria* 10. 1. 68-70) also gives the preference to Euripides and Menander, and for the same reasons.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

δὲ καὶ ἐλεγεῖα καὶ ἵαμβοι καὶ διθύραμβοι τῷ μὲν σχολὴν ἄγοντι πολλοῦ ἀξία· τῷ δὲ πράττειν τε καὶ ἄμα τὰς πράξεις καὶ τοὺς λόγους αὐξέντι διανοούμενῷ οὐκ ἄν εἴη πρὸς αὐτὰ σχολή. τοὺς
 9 δ' ἴστορικοῖς διὰ πολλὰ ἀνάγκη τὸν πολιτικὸν ἄνδρα μετὰ σπουδῆς ἐντυγχάνειν, ὅτι καὶ ἄνευ τῶν λόγων τὸ ἔμπειρον εἶναι πράξεων καὶ εὔτυχιῶν καὶ δυστυχιῶν οὐ κατὰ λόγον μόνον, ἀλλὰ ἐνίστε καὶ παρὰ λόγον ἄνδρας τε καὶ πόλεσι συμβαινουσῶν σφόδρα ἀναγκαῖον πολιτικῷ ἄιδρῳ καὶ τὰ κοινὰ πράττειν προαιρουμένῳ. ὁ γὰρ πλεῖστα ἔτέροις συμβάντα ἐπιστάμενος ἄριστα οἷς αὐτὸς ἔγχειρεῖ διαπράξεται καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐνόντων ἀσφαλῶς, καὶ οὕτε εὖ πράττων παρὰ μέτρον ἐπαρθήσεται, δυσπραγίαν τε πᾶσαν οἵσει γενναίως διὰ τὸ μηδὲν οἷς εὖ ἔπραττεν ἀνεννόητος εἶναι τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ ἐναντίον μεταβολῆς.

10 Ἡροδότῳ μὲν οὖν, εἴ ποτε εὐφροσύνης σοι δεῖ,¹ μετὰ πολλῆς ἡσυχίας ἐντεύξῃ· τὸ γὰρ ἀνειμένον καὶ τὸ γλυκύ τῆς ἀπαγγελίας ὑπόνοιαν παρέξει μυθῶδες μᾶλλον ἢ ἴστορικὸν τὸ σύγγραμμα εἶναι. τῶν δὲ ἄκρων Θουκυδίδης ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ καὶ τῶν δευτέρων Θεόπομπος. καὶ γὰρ ῥητορικόν τι περὶ τὴν ἀπαγγελίαν τῶν λόγων ἔχει, καὶ οὐκ ἀδύνατος οὐδὲ ὀλίγωρος² περὶ τὴν ἔρμηνείαν, καὶ τὸ ῥάθυμον περὶ τὰς λέξεις οὐχ οὕτω φαῦλον

¹ εὐφροσύνης σοι δεῖ Geel: εὐφροσύνης οἱ Μ., ἔφορόν σοι Ο., σύμφορόν σοι Β.

² ὀλίγωρος Reiske: ὀλίγος ΒΜ., ὁ λόγος Ο.

1 Cf. Aristotle, *Poetics* 1452 a 21.

2 Theopompus of Chios, born about 378 B.C., attended the

EIGHTEENTH DISCOURSE : ON TRAINING

Lyric and elegiac poetry too, and iambics and dithyrambs are very valuable for the man of leisure, but the man who intends to have a public career and at the same time to increase the scope of his activities and the effectiveness of his oratory, will have no time for them. But the historians for many reasons the statesman must read attentively, because, even apart from the speeches they contain, it is most essential that the statesman, the man who chooses to conduct public affairs, should be acquainted with measures and successes and failures, which happen not only in accordance with reasonable expectation, but also at times contrary thereto, to both men and states. And the reason for this statement is that it is the man with the widest knowledge of what has happened to others who will best carry out his own undertakings, and, so far as it is possible, safely, who will not be unduly elated in the hour of success, while every reverse he will bear nobly because of the fact that even in his successes he was never unaware of the possibility of a change to the opposite fortune.¹

As for Herodotus, if ever you want real enjoyment, you will read him when quite at your ease, for the easy-going manner and charm of his narrative will give the impression that his work deals with stories rather than with actual history. But among the foremost historians I place Thucydides, and among those of second rank Theopompos; ² for not only is there a rhetorical quality in the narrative portion of his speeches, but he is not without eloquence nor negligent in expression, and the slovenliness of his diction is school of rhetoric which Isocrates opened on that island. None of his works has come down to us.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

ῶστε σε λυπῆσαι. Ἐφόρος δὲ πολλὴν μὲν ἴστορίαν παραδίδωσι, τὸ δὲ ὑπτιον καὶ ἀνειμένον τῆς ἀπαγγελίας σοι οὐκ ἐπιτήδειον.

11 Τῶν γε μὴν ῥήτορων τοὺς ἀρίστους τίς οὐκ ἐπίσταται, Δημοσθένην μὲν δυνάμει τε ἀπαγγελίας καὶ δεινότητι διανοίας καὶ πλήθει λόγων πάντας τοὺς ῥήτορας ὑπερβεβληκύτα, Λυσίαν δὲ βραχύτητι καὶ ἀπλότητι καὶ συνεχείᾳ διανοίας καὶ τῷ λεληθέναι τὴν δεινότητα; πλὴν οὐκ ἄν ἔγώ σοι συμβουλεύσαιμι τὰ πολλὰ τούτοις ἐντυγχάνειν, ἀλλ' Ὅπερεῖδη τε μᾶλλον καὶ Λινχάνη· τούτων γὰρ ἀπλούστεραι τε αἱ δυνάμεις καὶ εὐληπτότεραι αἱ κατασκευαὶ καὶ τὸ κάλλος τῶν ὄνομάτων οὐδὲν ἐκείνων λειπόμενον. ἀλλὰ καὶ Λυκούργῳ συμβουλεύσαιμι¹ ἄν ἐντυγχάνειν σοι, ἐλαφροτέρῳ τούτων ὅντι καὶ ἐμφαίνοντί τινα ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἀπλότητα καὶ γενναιότητα τοῦ τρόπου.

12 Ἐνταῦθα δή φημι δεῖν, καν̄¹ εἴ τις ἐντυχὼν τῇ παρανέσει τῶν πάνυ ἀκριβῶν αἰτιάσεται, μηδὲ τῶν νεωτέρων καὶ ὀλίγον πρὸ ἡμῶν ἀπείρως ἔχειν· λέγω δὲ τῶν περὶ Ἀντίπατρον καὶ Θεόδωρον καὶ Πλούτίωνα καὶ Κόνωνα καὶ τὴν τοιαύτην

¹ καν̄ Arnim: καλ.

¹ Ephorus, born between 408 and 405 B.C. at Cymē in Asia Minor, was also a pupil of Isocrates.

² Not the legendary lawgiver of Sparta, but one of the ten Attic Orators. One of his speeches is extant.

³ Lucian (*Lexiophanes* 23) gives the *ad proposito* advice.

⁴ Antipater, a rival of Theodorus of Gadara, was perhaps the father of Damascus, the father of the historian Nicias.

⁵ Theodorus of Gadara, eminent rhetorician in the age of Augustus. Tiberius during his retirement at Rhodes was one of his hearers.

EIGHTEENTH DISCOURSE : ON TRAINING

not so bad as to offend you. As for Ephorus,¹ while he hands down to us a great deal of information about events, yet the tediousness and carelessness of his narrative style would not suit your purpose.

When it comes to the orators, however, who does not know which are the best—Demosthenes for the vigour of his style, the impressiveness of his thought, and the copiousness of his vocabulary, qualities in which he surpasses all other orators; and Lysias for his brevity, the simplicity and coherence of his thought, and for his well concealed cleverness. However, I should not advise you to read these two chiefly, but Hypereides rather and Aeschines; for the faculties in which they excel are simpler, their rhetorical embellishments are easier to grasp, and the beauty of their diction is not one whit inferior to that of the two who are ranked first. But I should advise you to read Lycurgus² as well, since he has a lighter touch than those others and reveals a certain simplicity and nobility of character in his speeches.

At this point I say it is advisable—even if some one, after reading my recommendation of the consummate masters of oratory, is going to find fault—also not to remain unacquainted with the more recent orators, those who lived a little before our time;³ I refer to the works of such men as Antipater,⁴ Theodorus,⁵ Pluton,⁶ and Conon,⁷ and to similar

¹ Pluton, mentioned also by Seneca and by Eusebius, who calls him a celebrated teacher of rhetoric.

² Conon, perhaps the grammarian of the age of Augustus. He was the author of a work entitled *διηγήσεις* (*Narratives*), addressed to Archelaüs Philopater, king of Cappadocia. An epitome of the work is preserved in the *Bibliotheca* of Photius, who praises his Attic style.

υλην. αἱ γὰρ τούτων δυνάμεις καὶ ταύτῃ ἂν εἴεν ἡμῖν ὀφέλιμοι, οὐκ ἂν ἐντυγχάνοιμεν αὐτοῖς δεδουλωμένοι τὴν γνώμην, ὥσπερ τοῖς παλαιοῖς. ὑπὸ γὰρ τοῦ δύνασθαι τι τῶν εἰρημένων αἰτιάσασθαι μάλιστα θαρροῦμεν πρὸς τὸ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπιχειρεῖν

13 ἡμεῖς,¹ καὶ ἥδιόν τις παριβάλλει πάτὸν ὃ πείθεται συγρινόμενος οὐ καταδεέστερος, ἐνίστε δὲ καὶ βελτίων ἂν² φαίνεσθαι.

Τρέψομαι δὲ ἥδη ἐπὶ τοὺς Σωκρατικούς, οὓς δὴ ἀναγκαιοτάτους εἶναι φημι παντὶ ἀνδρὶ λόγων ἐφιεμένω. ὥσπερ γὰρ οὐδὲν ὅψιν ἄνευ ἀλλοῦ γεύσει κεχαρισμένον, οὕτως³ οὐδὲν ἔλδος ἔμισγε δοκεῖ ἀκοῇ προσηνῆς ἀν γενέσθαι χάριτος Σωκρατικῆς ἄμοιρον.

Τοὺς μὲν δὴ ἄλλους μακρὸν ἄν εἴη ἔργον ἐπαινεῖν καὶ ἐντυγχάνειν αὐτοῖς οὐ τὸ τυχόν.

14 Ξενοφῶντα δὲ ἔγωγε ἡγοῦμαι ἀνδρὶ πολιτικῷ καὶ μόνον τῶν παλαιῶν ἔξαρκεῖν δύνασθαι. εἴτε ἐν πολέμῳ τις στρατηγῶν εἴτε πόλεως ἀφηγούμενος, εἴτε ἐν δήμῳ λέγων εἴτε ἐν βουλευτηρίῳ, εἴτε καὶ ἐν δικαστηρίῳ μὴ ὡς ρήτωρ ἐθέλοι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς πολιτικὸς καὶ βασιλικὸς ἀνὴρ τὰ τῷ τοιούτῳ προσήκοντα ἐν δίκῃ εἰπεῖν· πάντων ἄριστος ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ⁴ καὶ λυσιτελέστατος πρὸς ταῦτα πάντα Ξενοφῶν. τά τε γὰρ διανοήμata

¹ ἡμεῖς Cohoon: η BM, ξ U.

² ἂν added by Arnim.

³ Arnim would add λόγων after οὕτως, unnecessarily.

⁴ δοκεῖ added by Emperius.

EIGHTEENTH DISCOURSE : ON TRAINING

material. For the powers they display can be more useful to us because, when we read them, our judgment is not fettered and enslaved, as it is when we approach the ancients. For when we find that we are able to criticize what was been said, we are most encouraged to attempt the same things ourselves, and we find more pleasure in comparing ourselves with others when we are convinced that in the comparison we should be found to be not inferior to them, with the chance, occasionally, of being even superior.

I shall now turn to the Socratics,¹ writers who, I affirm, are quite indispensable to every man who aspires to become an orator. For just as no meat without salt will be gratifying to the taste, so no branch of literature, as it seems to me, could possibly be pleasing to the ear if it lacked the Socratic grace.

It would be a long task to eulogize the others ; even to read them is no light thing. But it is my own opinion that Xenophon, and he alone of the ancients, can satisfy all the requirements of a man in public life. Whether one is commanding an army in time of war, or is guiding the affairs of a state, or is addressing a popular assembly or a senate, or even if he were addressing a court of law and desired, not as a professional master of eloquence merely, but as a statesman or a royal prince, to utter sentiments appropriate to such a character at the bar of justice, the best exemplar of all, it seems to me, and the most profitable for all these purposes is Xenophon. For not only

¹ By the Socratics Dio means those writers, such as Plato and Xenophon, who came under the personal influence of Socrates.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

σαφῆ καὶ ἀπλᾶ καὶ παντὶ ράδια φαινόμενα, τό
τε εἶδος τῆς ἀπαγγελίας προσηνές καὶ κεχαρισ-
μένον καὶ πειστικόν, πολλὴν μὲν ἔχον πιθαιότητα,
πολλὴν δὲ χάριν καὶ ἐπιβολήν, ὥστε μὴ λόγων
δεινότητι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ γοητείᾳ ἐσικέναι τὴν
 15 δύναμιν. εἰ γοῦν ἐθελήσειας αὐτοῦ τῇ περὶ
τὴν Ἀνάβασιν πραγματείᾳ σφόδρα ἐπιμελῶς
ἐντυχεῖν, οὐδένα λόγοιν εὐρίστεις τῶν ὑπὸ σοῦ
λεχθῆναι δυνησομένων, δν¹ οὐδὲ διείληπται καὶ
κανόνος ἀν τρόπου ὑπόσχοι τῷ πρὸς αὐτὸν
ἀπευθῦναι ἡ μιμήσασθαι βουλομένῳ. εἴτε γὰρ
θαρρῦναι τοὺς σφόδρα καταπεπτωκύτας χρήσι-
μον πολιτικῷ ἀνδρί, καὶ πολλάκις ὡς χρὴ τοῦτο
ποιεῖν δείκνυσιν. εἴτε προτρέψαι καὶ παρακαλέ-
σαι, οὐδὲις Ἐληνικῆς φωνῆς ἐπαΐων οὐκ ἀν
ἐπαρθείη τοῖς προτρεπτικοῖς Θεοφῶντος λόγοις.
 16 ἔμοὶ γοῦν κινεῖται ἡ διάνοια καὶ ἐνίστε δακρύω
μεταξὺ τοσούτων² τῶν ἔργων τοῖς λόγοις ἐντυγ-
χάνων. εἴτε μέγα φρονοῦσι καὶ ἐπηρμένοις
ὅμιλῆσαι φρονίμως καὶ μήτε παθεῖν τι ὑπ' αὐτῶν
δυσχερανάντων μήτε ἀπρεπῶς δουλῶσαι τὴν αὐτοῦ
διάνοιαν καὶ τὸ ἐκείνοις κεχαρισμένον ἐκ παντὸς
ποιῆσαι, καὶ ταῦτα ἐνεστιν. καὶ ἀπορρήτοις δὲ
λόγοις ὡς προσήκει χρήσασθαι καὶ πρὸς στρατη-
γοὺς ἄνευ πλήθους καὶ πρὸς πλῆθος κατὰ³ ταῦ-
τό, καὶ βασιλικοῖς τίνα⁴ τρόπουν διαλεχθῆναι, καὶ
ἔξαπατῆσαι ὅπως πολεμίους μὲν ἐπὶ βλάβῃ
φίλους δ' ἐπὶ τῷ συμφέροντι, καὶ μάτην ταραττο-

¹ δν Reiske: δς.

² τοσούτων τῶν Cohoon: τοσοῦτον τῶν M, τοσούτων U.

³ von Arnim inserts οὐ before κατὰ, wrongly.

⁴ τίνα Emperius: τινὰ.

EIGHTEENTH DISCOURSE : ON TRAINING

are his ideas clear and simple and easy for everyone to grasp, but the character of his narrative style is attractive, pleasing, and convincing, being in a high degree true to life in the representation of character, with much charm also and effectiveness, so that his power suggests not cleverness but actual wizardry. If, for instance, you should be willing to read his work on the *March Inland* very carefully, you will find no speech, such as you will one day possess the ability to make, whose subject matter he has not dealt with and can offer as a kind of norm to any man who wishes to steer his course by him or imitate him. If it is needful for the statesman to encourage those who are in the depths of despondency, time and again our writer shows how to do this ; or if the need is to incite and exhort, no one who understands the Greek language could fail to be aroused by Xenophon's hortatory speeches. My own heart, at any rate, is deeply moved and at times I weep even as I read his account of all those deeds of valour. Or, if it is necessary to deal prudently with those who are proud and conceited and to avoid, on the one hand, being affected in any way by their displeasure, or, on the other, enslaving one's own spirit to them in unseemly fashion and doing their will in everything, guidance in this also is to be found in him. And also how to hold secret conferences both with generals apart from the common soldiers and with the soldiers in the same way ;¹ the proper manner of conversing with kings and princes ; how to deceive enemies to their hurt and friends for their own benefit ; how to tell the plain truth to

¹ i.e. apart from the generals. von Arnim's insertion of the negative shows a misunderstanding of the thought.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

μένοις ἀλύπως τἀληθὲς καὶ πιστῶς εἰπεῖν, καὶ τὸ μὴ ρᾶδίως πιστεύειν τοὺς ὑπερέχουσι, καὶ οἱ ἔξαπατῶσιν οἱ ὑπερέχοντες καὶ οἱς καταστρατη-

17 γοῦσι καὶ καταστρατηγοῦνται ἄνθρωποι, πάντα ταῦτα ἵκανως τὸ σύνταγμα περιέχει. ἄτε γάρ, οἷμαι, μιγνὺς τὰς πράξεις τοὺς λόγους, οὐκ ἔξ ἀκοῆς παραλαβὼν οὐδὲ μιμησάμενος, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς πράξας ἄμα καὶ εἰπών, πιθανωτάτους ἐποίησεν ἐν ἄπασί τε τοῖς συντάγμασι καὶ ἐν τούτῳ μάλιστα, οὐ ἐπιμησθεὶς ἐτύγχανον. καὶ εὖ ἴσθι, οὐδένα σοι τρόπον μεταμελήσει, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν βουλῇ καὶ ἐν δήμῳ ὄρέγοντός σοι χεῖρα αἰσθήσῃ τοῦ ἀνδρός, εἰ αὐτῷ προθύμως καὶ φιλοτίμως ἐντυγχάνοις.

18 Γράφειν μὲν οὖν οὐ συμβουλεύω σοι αὐτῷ ἀλλ' ἡ σφόδρα ἀραιῶς, ἐπιδιδόναι δὲ μᾶλλον. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ὅμοιότερος¹ τῷ λέγοντι δὲ ὑπαγορεύων τοῦ γράφοντος, ἐπειτα ἐλάττονι πόνῳ γίγνεται· ἐπειτα πρὸς δύναμιν μὲν ἥττον συλλαμβάνει τοῦ γράφειν, πρὸς ἔξιν δὲ πλεῖον. καὶ γράφειν δὲ οὐ ταῦτά σε ἀξιῶ τὰ σχολικὰ πλάσματα, ἀλλ', εἴπερ ἄρα, τινὰ τῶν λόγων, οἱς ἂν ἡσθῆσῃ ἐντυγχάνων, μάλιστα τῶν Ξενοφωντείων, ἡ ἀντιλέγοντα τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἡ τὰ αὐτὰ ἐτερον τρόπον ὑποβάλλοντα. καὶ ἀναλαμβάνειν μέντοι, εἴ σοι ρᾶδιον μεμνῆσθαι, τὰ ἐκείνων ἄμεινον. τῷ τε γὰρ

19

¹ ὅμοιότερος Reiske: ἐτοιμότερος.

¹ That is, the *Anabasis* or *Journey Inland*. It is strange that Dio does not also mention Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*.

² So Rhys Roberts renders δύναμις in his list of rhetorical terms used in literary criticism.

EIGHTEENTH DISCOURSE : ON TRAINING

those who are needlessly disturbed without giving offence, and to make them believe it; how not to trust too readily those in authority over you, and the means by which such persons deceive their inferiors, and the way in which men outwit and are outwitted—on all these points Xenophon's treatise¹ gives adequate information. For I imagine that it is because he combines deeds with words, because he did not learn by hearsay nor by copying, but by doing deeds himself as well as telling of them, that he made his speeches most convincingly true to life in all his works and especially in this one which I chanced to mention. And be well assured that you will have no occasion to repent, but that both in the senate and before the people you will find this great man reaching out a hand to you if you earnestly and diligently read him.

Writing, however, I do not advise you to engage in with your own hand, or only very rarely, but rather to dictate to a secretary. For, in the first place, the one who utters his thoughts aloud is more nearly in the mood of a man addressing an audience than is one who writes, and, in the second place, less labour is involved. Again, while it contributes less to effectiveness² in delivery than writing does, it contributes more to your habit of readiness. But when you do write, I do not think it best for you to write these made-up school exercises; yet if you must write, take one of the speeches that you enjoy reading, preferably one of Xenophon's, and either oppose what he said, or advance the same arguments in a different way. And yet repeating what his speeches contain is better still if you have a good memory for it. For this makes one thoroughly

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

τρόπω τῆς ἀπαγγελίας καὶ τῇ ἀκριβείᾳ τῶν διαινοημάτων πάνυ συνήθεις ποιεῖ. λέγω δὲ οὐχ ἵνα σύνταγμά τι ὅλον, ὥσπερ οἱ παῦδες, εἴρων συνάπτης, ἀλλ' ἵνα, εἴ τι σοι σφόδρα ἀρέσειε, τοῦτο κατάσχῃς. πλεῖστα περὶ τούτου μειρακίῳ ἄν ἔγραψα, σοὶ δὲ ἀρκεῖ τοσαῦτα. καὶ γὰρ εἰ ἐλάχιστα ἀναλάβοις, πολὺ ὀνήσει· καὶ εἰ δυσκόλως ἔχοις καὶ μετὰ ὀδύνης πράττοις, οὐκ ἔξ ἅπαντος ἀναγκαῖον.

20 Ἀλλὰ ἔοικα μὲν πάνυ μηκῦναι τὴν συμβουλίαν· σὺ δὲ αἴτιος ἀναπείσας καὶ προκαλεσάμενος· ὥσπερ οἱ ἐν πάλῃ ὑπερέχοντες τοῦς ἀσθενεστέρους ὑπείκοντες ἐνίστε ἐποίησαν¹ αὐτοὺς πείθεσθαι ἰσχυροτέρους εἶναι· καὶ σὺ ἔοικας, ἂν κρείττον τυγχάνεις εἰδώς, ἐμὲ προτρέψαι ὡς ἔλαττον ἐπισταμένῳ γράψαι. βουλοίμην δ' ἄν, εἴ σοι κεχαρισμένον εἴη, καὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ποτε ἡμᾶς γενέσθαι, ἵνα καὶ ἐντυγχάνοντες τοῦς παλαιοῖς καὶ διαλεγόμενοι περὶ αὐτῶν χρήσιμοί τι γενοίμεθα.²

21 ὥσπερ τοῦς ζωγράφοις καὶ πλάσταις οὐκ ἀπόχρη εἰπεῖν ὅτι δὲν τοιάδε τὰ³ χρώματα εἶναι καὶ τοιάσδε τὰς γραμμάς, ἀλλὰ μεγίστη ὡφέλεια, εἴ τις αὐτοὺς ἢ γράφοντας ἢ πλάττοντας ἴδοι· καὶ ὡς τοῖς παιδοτρίβαις οὐκ ἀρκεῖ εἰπεῖν τὰ παλαίσματα, ἀλλὰ καὶ δεῖξαι ἀνάγκη τῷ μαθησομένῳ· οὕτω καὶ ἐν ταῖς τοιαύταις συμβουλίαις

¹ ἐποίησαν Emperorius: ἀνέπεισαν UB, ἀν ἐπεισαν M.

² γενοίμεθα Emperorius: ἐγενόμεθα.

³ τὰ added by Pflugk.

EIGHTEENTH DISCOURSE : ON TRAINING

familiar with both the way he expresses his thoughts and the accuracy with which his thoughts are conceived. I say this, not to encourage you to string together line for line an entire treatise, as schoolboys do, but that you may thoroughly master anything that happens to please you especially. I should have written at great length about this to a lad, but for you, thus much is sufficient. For if you call to memory only very small portions, you will derive great benefit; whereas if you should feel disinclined and find the effort painful, this work is not absolutely necessary.

Well, I seem to have extended my advice to great length, but you yourself are to blame for that by persuading and challenging me. Just as expert wrestlers sometimes give way to those who are weaker and make them believe that they are stronger, so you seem to have led me on to write and tell what you, as it happens, know better yourself, just as if you did not know it so well. But I should prefer, if it proved agreeable to you, that we should get together some time and by reading the ancient writers and discussing them render some service to each other. Just as it is not enough to say to painters and to sculptors¹ that their colours should be just so and that their lines should be just so, but they derive the greatest help if the critic can see them at work, painting or modelling; and just as it is not sufficient for the gymnastic masters to name the different holds in wrestling, but they must go on and demonstrate them to the youth who wishes to learn: so too in consultations like this, the help

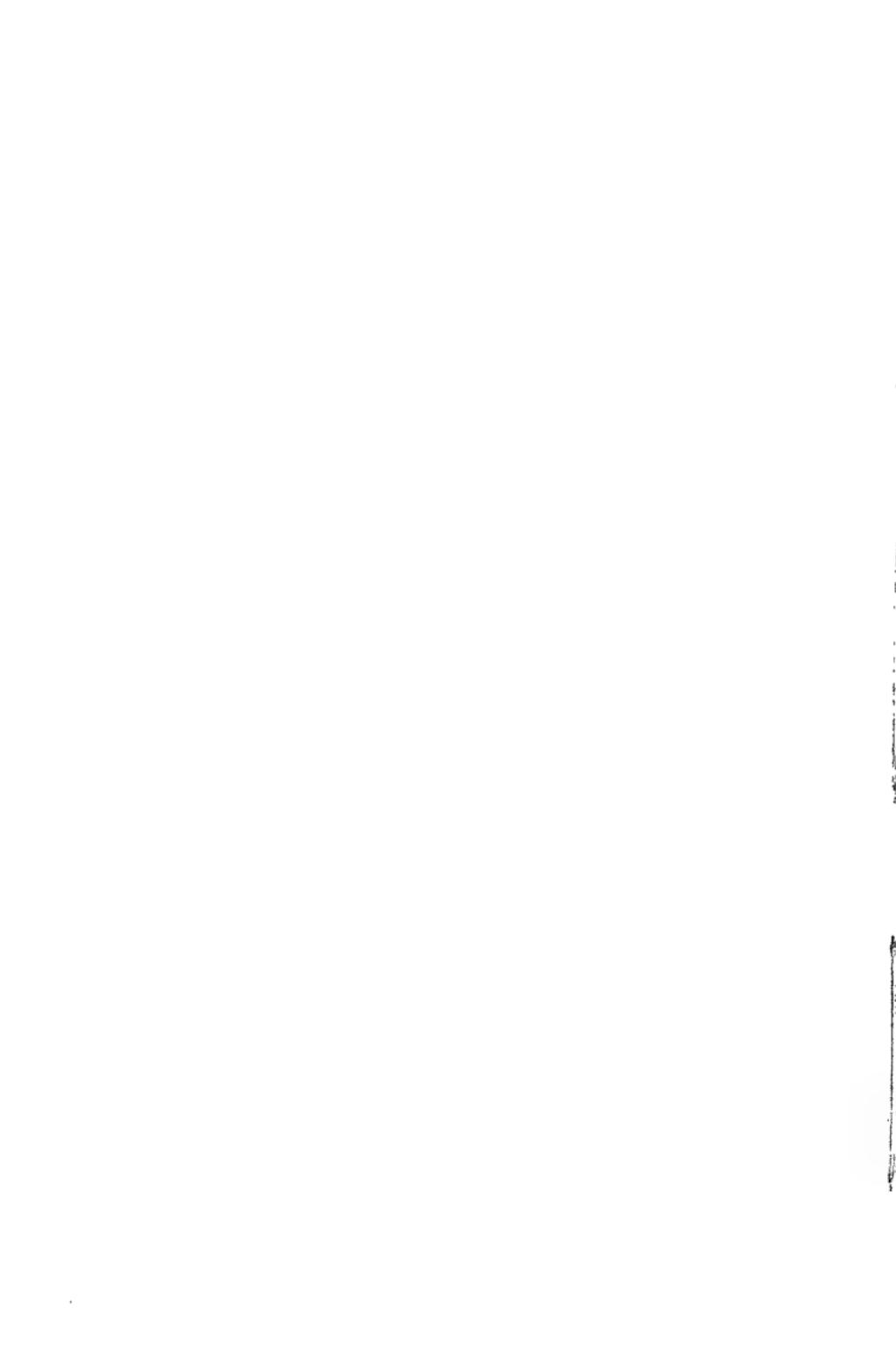
¹ Dio has in mind the *young* artists who need criticism and instruction; and so it is the youth who are trained in wrestling.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

πλείων ἡ ὠφέλεια γίγνοιτ' ἄν, εἰ τις αὐτὸν πράττοντα ἴδοι τὸν συμβεβουλευκότα. ὡς ἔγωγε, καὶ εἰ ἀναγιγνώσκειν με δέοι σοῦ ἀκροωμένου, τῆς σῆς ἐνεκα ὠφελείας οὐκ ἄν ὀκνήσαιμι, στέργων τέ σε καὶ τῆς σῆς φιλοτιμίας ἀγάμενος καὶ τῆς πρὸς ἐμὲ τιμῆς χάριν εἰδώς.

EIGHTEENTH DISCOURSE : ON TRAINING

would be greater if one were to see the man who has given the advice in action himself. I declare for my part that even if I had to read aloud to you while you listened, for the sake of helping you I should not hesitate, since I both love you and admire you for your ambition, and am grateful for the honour you have shown me.



THE NINETEENTH DISCOURSE: ON THE AUTHOR'S FONDNESS FOR LISTENING TO MUSIC, THE DRAMA, AND ORATORY

In this fragment Dio relates an incident which occurred during his exile. He had come to Cyzicus to meet some friends and fellow-townsmen who evidently wished him to deliver an address in which he should tell the story of his wanderings; but he was saved from doing so by the arrival of a bard who drew the attention of all, Dio included, to himself. Then he speaks of the great pleasure which he derived to those who sing and play the lyre : This is his way of referring to the state of Comedy and Tragedy in his day. At this point the Discourse as we have it breaks off, and we can only conjecture as to what was the subject of the Discourse proper. Possibly Dio went on to speak in detail of music or of the drama.

This pleasing introduction to his main subject reminds us of the seventh Discourse, in vol. I., where Dio tells of his experience with the hunters of Euboea in order to secure our attention to what follows.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

Ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἥκεν δὲ ἄριστος τῶν νῦν κιθαρῳδῶν,
 ως δὲ ἔνιοί φασιν, οὐδὲ τῶν πρότερον οὐδενὸς
 ἐνδεέστερος, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ Ἀρίονος τοῦ ἐκ¹ πελάγους,
 μαντευόμενοι δῆλον ὅτι, πῶς γὰρ ἂν εἰδεῖεν τὸ
 σαφὲς οὐκ ἀκούσαντες ἐκείνου; ως δὲ οὖν τάχιστα
 ἥσθοντο ἐπιδημοῦντα τὸν ἄνδρα, εὐθὺς καὶ σπουδὴ
 ἀμήχανος καὶ πάντες ἐβάδιζον εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον.

3 ἐγὼ οὖν καὶ αὐτός, ἔξειναι νομίζων καὶ ἡμῖν
 ἀκοῦσαι καὶ μεταλαβεῖν οὕτω καλῆς εὐωχίας ἐν
 ἀνθρώποις τρισχιλίοις καὶ πλείοσιν, ἥκον ἐν
 πρώτοις πάνυ θαρρῶν. εἰμὶ δὲ φιλήκοος καὶ
 φιλόμουσος ἀτεχνῶς, οὐ πάνυ ἐμπειρος ὥν μουσικῆς·
 ὥστε εἴπερ ἔτυχον γεγονὼς κατὰ ταῦτὸν Ὁρφεῖ,
 δοκῶ μοι, πρῶτος ἂν ἐπηκολούθουν, εἰ καὶ
 ἔδει μετὰ νεβρῶν τινων ἥ μόσχων, οὐδὲν αἰδούμενος·
 ἐπεὶ καὶ νῦν ταῦτὸ τοῦτο πάσχω πολλάκις, ἐπειδὴν
 εἰσαφίκωμαι σοφιστοῦ, διὰ τὴν προσοῦσάν μοι
 ἀκρασίαν² περὶ τοὺς λόγους, καὶ μετὰ τοιούτων
 συναγελάζομαι θρεμμάτων, ὠραίων καὶ καλῶν,
 ἀλλως δὲ θορυβούντων καὶ σκιρτᾶν προθυμουμένων.

4 Τοῦτο δὲ πέπονθα πρὸς τοὺς σοφιστάς τε καὶ
 ῥήτορας ἀπαντας σχεδόν. καθάπερ οἱ πτωχοὶ
 καὶ τοὺς μετρίως εὐπόρους μακαρίζουσι διὰ τὴν
 αὐτῶν ἀπορίαν κάγὼ τοὺς ἀμηγέπη δυνατοὺς
 λέγειν θαυμάζω καὶ ἀγαπῶ διὰ τὸ αὐτὸς ἀδύνατος

¹ τοῦ ἐκ Reiske: ἐκ τοῦ.

² ἀκρασίαν Casaubon: ἀκράσιαν UB, ἀκροᾶσιν M.

NINETEENTH DISCOURSE: ON MUSIC

For there came to Cyzicus a bard who, as some assert, is the best of those of this time and in fact a man inferior not even to any of the great bards of the past, nay not even to Arion, who was saved from the sea—they must evidently have judged by divination, for how else could they be sure when they had not heard that famous bard of old?—and as soon as they learned that the man was in town, straightway tremendous interest was aroused and all the people began to wend their way to the senate house. So I too, thinking that I also might listen and thus enjoy a share in such a splendid entertainment, as one of the throng of three thousand and more, arrived among the first, very expectant indeed. I am fond of indulging my ears and absolutely devoted to music, although I have no great skill myself in it; so that, if it had been my fortune to live in Orpheus' time, I fancy that I should have been the first one to follow in his train, even though I should have been obliged to mingle with a drove of fawns and calves; and I should have felt no shame. For even now I am often affected as they were, whenever I attend a sophist's lecture, on account of the uncontrolled craving which possesses me for the spoken word; and so I herd with the sort of creatures I have mentioned, graceful and beautiful, to be sure, but yet noisy and eager for a chance to kick up their heels.

And this is the way I have nearly always been affected when listening to sophists and orators. Just as beggars on account of their own destitution envy the moderately well-to-do, so I admire and applaud those who are in any way at all proficient in speech, because I myself am lacking in such

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

εἶναι λέγειν. τὸ μέντοι τῶν κιθαρῳδῶν τε καὶ νὴ Δία τῶν ὑποκριτῶν οὐ παρ' ὀλίγον μοι δοκεῖ διαφέρειν πρὸς ἡδονήν. ἦ¹ τε γὰρ φωνὴ μείζων καὶ δῆλον ὅτι ἐμμελεστέρα,² ἦ τε λέξις³ οὐκ αὐτοσχέδιος, ὥσπερ ἡ τῶν ρήτορων ἐξ ὑπογύνου τὰ πολλὰ πειρωμένων λέγειν, ἀλλὰ ποιητῶν ἐπι-
5 μελῶς καὶ κατὰ σχολὴν πεποιηκότων. καὶ τά γε⁴ πολλὰ αὐτῶν ἀρχαῖα ἔστι καὶ πολὺ σοφωτέρων ἀνδρῶν ἦ τῶν νῦν. τὰ μὲν τῆς κωμῳδίας ἅπαντα, τῆς δὲ τραγῳδίας τὰ μὲν ἴσχυρά, ὡς ἔοικε, μένει· λέγω δὲ τὰ ἱαμβεῖα, καὶ τούτων μέρη διεξίασιν ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις· τὰ δὲ μαλακώτερα ἐξερρύηκε, τὰ περὶ τὰ μέλη· ὥσπερ, οἷμα, τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῶν παλαιῶν ὅσα μέν ἔστι στερεὰ τοῦ σώματος ὑπομένει τῷ χρόνῳ, τά τε δυτά καὶ οἱ μύες, τᾶλλα

¹ ἦ added by Emperius.

² ἐμμελεστέρα Wilamowitz : ἐπιμελεστέρα.

³ λέξις Reiske, ἔξις BM, ἔξις U.

⁴ γε Reiske : τε.

¹ Dio means that when a comedy of earlier times was presented, every part of it was played—the choral or lyrical parts as well as the dialogue—but that in giving a tragedy they dispensed with the chorus and the lyrical parts which it sang, and that even some of the dialogue was omitted. In this way those tragedies of an earlier time were adapted to the taste of Dio's time and made similar to tragedies written then.

At first the songs of the chorus had been integral parts of the tragedy. The chorus itself played the part of an actor. But after Aeschylus introduced a second actor, the chorus became less important; and still less so when Sophocles introduced a

NINETEENTH DISCOURSE : ON MUSIC

proficiency. But I must say that the performance of those who sing to the harp, aye, and of the actors too, seems to me in no small degree superior in the pleasure it gives. For their voices are louder and undoubtedly better modulated, while their language is not extempore like that of the orators, who generally try to speak without preparation; but poets have composed pain-takingly and at their leisure. And the most of what they give us comes from ancient times, and from much wiser men than those of the present. In the case of comedy everything is kept; in the case of tragedy only the strong parts, it would seem, remain—I mean the iambics, and portions of these they still give in our theatres—but the more delicate parts have fallen away, that is, the lyric parts.¹ I might illustrate by the case of old men: all the firm parts of the body resist the ravages of time, namely, the bones and the

third actor. Then Euripides showed a tendency to write the choral parts as separate songs, but nevertheless they are more or less relevant to the action of the play. It remained for Agathon, born about 446 B.C., to make the chorus sing musical interludes which had no connection with the subject-matter of the tragedy (see Aristotle, *Poetics* 1456 a). And later the tragic chorus was often, and then usually, dropped altogether in some performances. Official records as early as the third and B.C. attest to his. However, even in Dio's time tragedies sometimes had a chorus.

In Comedy a regular chorus was kept down to at least the middle of the fourth century B.C., as statements of Aeschines and Aristotle and certain inscriptions go to show. Yet since in the plays of Menander (342–291 B.C.) which were found in Egypt in 1905 the lyric parts are omitted from the MS. and their position merely indicated by the word *χοροῦ* (chorus), it seems probable that by his time the lyric or choral parts had already ceased to have any close connection with the development of the plot.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

δὲ ἐλάττω γίγνεται.¹ οὐκοῦν τὰ σώματα ὅρᾶται τὰ τῶν παντελῶς γερόντων ἐνδεδωκότα καὶ λαγαρά· ὅσοι δ' αὖ παχεῖς γέροντες ὑπὸ πλούτου καὶ τρυφῆς, ἵσχυροῦ μὲν οὐδενὸς προσόντος ἔτι, πιμελῆς δὲ ἀντὶ τῶν σαρκῶν, εὐτραφεῖς δὴ ὅρῶνται καὶ νεώτεροι τοῖς πολλοῖς.²

¹ γίγνεται Emperius: τείνεται.

² Selden believed a good deal was lacking at the end.

NINETEENTH DISCOURSE : ON MUSIC

muscles ; but everything else shrivels up. This is the reason that the bodies of extremely old men are seen to be wasted and shrunken, whereas all those old men who are corpulent because of their wealth and luxury, although they have no strength left but only fat instead of flesh, do seem well nourished and younger to the great majority.¹

¹ The cause of the corpulence of some old men has nothing corresponding to it in Tragedy, so that here Dio is wandering from his subject—a thing which he himself more than once admits that he is prone to do.

THE TWENTIETH DISCOURSE: ON RETIREMENT

Here Dio discusses the real meaning of 'retirement.' It does not consist in going away somewhere to avoid a duty or a danger, or even to get freedom from distraction. To retire in the true sense is to fix one's mind upon the things that truly matter and to disregard trivial things and distractions from without. Retirement from the haunts of men merely affords foolish and wicked men an opportunity to give themselves up to their foolish and wicked thoughts and to plan how they may make their ~~way~~ ^{way} ~~to~~ ^{to} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~end~~ ^{end}. Nothing is said of the good use to which ~~men~~ ^{men} ~~make~~ ^{make} ~~use~~ ^{use} ~~of~~ ^{of} such retirement. The similarities betw ~~between~~ ^{between} ~~Dio~~ ^{Dio} and Seneca's fifty-sixth Letter led E. Weber (*Die Diogenes-Cicerone-Seneca-Secundus Seculare*, p. 126) to the ~~conclusion~~ ^{conclusion} ~~that~~ ^{that} ~~it~~ ^{it} came from a common Stoic or Cynic source.

Von Arnim, who maintains that Dio, with the disappearance of his anti-monarchical feelings, dropped the use of the word *μόναρχοι* ('monarchs'), which occurs in § 24, would place this Discourse in the reign of Domitian. We may be sure at any rate that it was not written in Dio's youth, when he was a sophist.

20. ΠΕΡΙ ΑΝΑΧΩΡΗΣΕΩΣ

Τί γάρ ποτε τὸ τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως ἔστι καὶ τίνας
χρὴ τιθέναι τοὺς ἀναχωροῦντας; ἀρά γε τοὺς
ἀπὸ τῶν προσηκόντων ἔργων αἵτοῖς καὶ πράξεων
ἀφισταμένους, τούτους χρὴ φάγκειν ἀντιχωρεῖν;
οἷον εἴ τις Ἀθηναῖος ὢν, δέον αὐτὸν στρατεύεσθαι
ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος Λακεδαιμονίων εἰσβεβληκότων
εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἢ Φιλίππου ἐπιώντος ἢ ἄλλων
πολεμίων, ὁ δὲ ἀναχωρήσειν¹ εἰς Μέγαρα ἢ
Αἴγιναν ἔνεκα τοῦ μὴ στρατεύεσθαι μηδὲ κινδυνεύειν,
οὗτος ἂν² ἀνακεχωρηκέναι λέγοιτο; ἢ εἴ τις
συχνὴν οὐσίαν κεκτημένος ἔνεκα τοῦ διαφυγεῖν
2 τὰς λειτουργίας ἀπέλθοι ἐκ τῆς πόλεως; ἢ εἴ
τις ἴσθαι τοὺς νοσοῦντας ἵκανὸς ὢν, καὶ φίλων
δὴ καὶ ἐπιτηδείων αὐτῷ καμνόντων, ὅπως μὴ
κακοπαθῇ καὶ πράγματα ἔχῃ τούτους θεραπεύων,
ἀπολίποι τε αὐτὸὺς καὶ ἀποδημήσειν εἰς ἔτερον
τόπον; ἢ εἴ τις ἄλλος, ἐν πόλει δέον ἔξετάζεσθαι

¹ ἀναχωρήσειν Emperor : ἀναχωρήσει.

² ἂν added by Emperor.

¹ Compare Lycurgus, *Against Leocrates* 21 ff.

² The λειτουργία was a public service which wealthy men of Athens, and of some other Greek states, were required to perform at their own expense in order to lighten the financial burdens of the state as such. At Athens there were both ordinary and extraordinary ones. Of the former kind the most important was the χορηγία, that is, paying the expense

THE TWENTIETH DISCOURSE: ON RETIREMENT

Just what, pray, is the meaning of the word 'retirement,' and whom should we define as men who are 'retiring'? Is it those who are giving up their proper tasks and activities of whom we should say that they are retiring? For example, if some one enjoying Athenian citizenship, when the obligation falls on him to serve in the field in defence of his country because the Spartans have invaded Attica, or Philip is attacking them, or some other enemy, should retire or withdraw to Megara or Aegina in order to avoid serving or risking his life, could this man be described as having retired?¹ Or if some one who possesses a great fortune should for the sake of avoiding the public services required of the rich² leave the city? Or if a man who is qualified to heal the sick, and then when the sick are friends and intimates of his, should abandon them and go on a visit to some other place in order to avoid catching the disease and the trouble of treating them? Or if somebody else, on being required to present himself for public

of outfitting and training a chorus for one of the Athenian state festivals, in which were included the tragic contests and later, the presentations of comedies; next in importance was the *τριηραρχία*, which imposed the obligation to equip a trireme and to maintain it in service for a year.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

καὶ αὐτὸν, ἄρχειν καὶ ἄρχαις ὑπηρετεῖν καὶ φυλακάς τινας φυλάττειν, ἀγρυπνῶν μὴ βούλοιτο, ἀλλ’ ὅπως τούτων ἀπηλλαγμένος ἀπάντων ἔσται καὶ μηδὲ εἰς αὐτὸν ἔξελέγξει¹ μηδὲ κωλύσει² πίνοντα καὶ καθεύδοντα καὶ ρᾳθυμοῦντα, ἐτέρωσε ἀποχωροῦ ποι—ἄρα τούτους ἀναχωρεῖν ρῆτέον; ἀλλ’ οὗτοι μὲν δῆλον ὅτι φεύγουσί τε καὶ δραπετεύουσι, καὶ οὐκ ἂν εἴη πρόφασις αὐτοῖς οὐδὲ συγγνώμη τῆς τοιαύτης σχολῆς τε καὶ ἀποδράσεως.

3 Μὴ οὖν τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνωφελῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τῶν οὐ προσηκουσῶν αὐτοῖς ἀσχολιῶν ἀπιόντας καὶ σχολήν τινα πορίζοντας αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐνοχλούντων μάτην ρῆτέον ὡς ἀναχωροῦντας. ἀλλ’ οὕτως μέν, οὐχ ὁ μεταβὰς ἐκ πόλεως τινος εἰς ἐτέραν πόλιν ἢ ἐκ τόπου εἰς ἐτερον τόπον ἀναχωρεῖν λέγοιτ³ ἂν· ὅπου γάρ ἂν ἀφίκηται, πολλὰ ἂν εἴη τὰ ἐμποδῶν αὐτῷ γιγνόμενα καὶ οὐκ ἔωντα τὰ προσήκοντα ποιεῖν. καὶ γάρ τὸ ἐπὶ πολύ τῷ ξυνεῖναι καὶ τὸ πίνοντα ἢ κυβεύοντα ἢ ἄλλο τι τῶν βλαβερῶν καὶ ἀσυμφόρων πράττοντα διατελεῖν, πανταχοῦ τοιαῦτά ἔστιν, καὶ τὸ συνδιατρίβειν ἀεὶ τῷ ἐντυχόντι ἀδολεσχοῦντα καὶ ἀκούοντα λόγων οὐδὲν χρησίμων ἢ περὶ τὰ βασιλέως πράγματα διατρίβειν ἢ τὰ³ τοῦ δεῖνος, ὡς ἔφη 4 τις. οὐ γάρ ἔστιν ἀνόητος τῆς αὐτοῦ ψυχῆς κύριος, ἀλλὰ ρεμβόμενός τε καὶ ἀγόμενος ρᾳδίως ὑπὸ τῆς τυχούστης προφάσεως καὶ ὁμιλίας.

¹ ἔξελέγξει Wilamowitz : ἔξελέγξῃ.

² κωλύσει Wilamowitz : κωλύσῃ. ³ τὰ Morel : τὸ.

TWENTIETH DISCOURSE : RETIREMENT

duty in the city along with the rest, should be unwilling to hold an office or assist those in office or do any service as guard which would necessitate his losing sleep, but in order to be rid of all these duties and not let even one man call him to account or hinder him from drinking and sleeping and loafing, should retire to some other place—should these men be described as ‘retiring’? No, these men are evidently fleeing and deserting, and there can be no excuse for them or pardon for taking a vacation in this manner and running away.

It may be, then, that it is those who withdraw from unprofitable enterprises and time-consuming activities which do not properly concern them, and who get themselves some leisure from useless annoyances, that should be defined as ‘retiring.’ But if that is right, it is not the man who has moved from some city to another one or from one place to another that could be described as ‘retiring.’ For wherever he goes, there will be many things getting in his way and not allowing him to do the things which properly concern him. For the fact is that spending much time in somebody’s company and in continual drinking, or dicing, or in doing some other harmful and unprofitable thing are practices to be met with everywhere¹—and wasting all one’s time in palavering with anyone you happen to meet, and in listening to talk that is utterly futile, or spending your time discoursing about the affairs of the Emperor or of what’s his name, as some one has said. For the fool is not master of his own soul, but is whirled this way and that and is easily led by any chance pretext or association.

¹ Cf. Lysias 16. 11 and Isocrates 15. 286 ff.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

"Ωστε οἱ πολλοὶ ἀνθρωποι, καθάπερ οἱ ἄσωτοι τῶν χρημάτων οὐκ ἀν δύναιντο ἀποδοῦναι λόγουν πρὸς ὅ τι ἀνηλώκασιν ἔκαστον αὐτῶν, φαίνεται δ' ὅμως ἀνηλωμένα πάνυ συχνὰ χρήματα, οὐδὲ οὗτοι τοῦ χρόνου τε καὶ βίου δύναινται ἀν ἀποδοῦναι λόγουν, πρὸς ὅ τι ἔκάστην ἡμέραν ἀνήλωσαν ἢ μῆνα ἢ ἐνιαυτόν· φαίνεται δ' οὖν παριών ὁ βίος καὶ δαπανώμενος ὁ χρόνος, οὐκ ὀλίγου ἄξιος τοῖς ἀνθρώποις οὐδὲ ἥττονος, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, ἢ τὸ ἀργύριον.

5 ἀλλ' ὅμως μιᾶς δραχμῆς ἀπολομένης ἀνάγκη αἰσθέσθαι καὶ δηχθῆναι ἀμηγέπη· εἰ δὲ καὶ πλείους τις ἐκβάλοι,¹ οὐ πολλοί εἰσιν οἱ ἐπὶ τῷ τοιούτῳ πράσις ἔχοντες· λέγω δὲ οὐ διὰ τὴν ἀμέλειαν λυπούμενοι καὶ δακνόμενοι καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ προσέχειν ἐφ' οὓς ἄξιον ἦν δάκνεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῇ ἀπωλείᾳ τῶν δραχμῶν. ἡμέρας δὲ ἐξελθούσης καὶ ἀπολομένης καὶ δύο καὶ τριῶν οὐδείς ἔστιν ὃς ἐφρόντισεν. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖ μὲν δύνανται² λογίζεσθαι τὸ τοσοῦτον,³ ὅτι εἰ μὴ προσέξουσι μηδὲ φροντιοῦσι τῶν τοιούτων, λάθοι ἀν αὐτοὺς ἡ σύμπασα οὐσία διαρρυεῖσα καὶ ἀπολομένη· ἐνταῦθα δὲ οὐ δύνανται ταῦτὸ τοῦτο λογίσασθαι, ὡς εἰ μὴ προνοήσουσιν ἔκαστης ἡμέρας καὶ φυλάξουσι μὴ εἰκῇ προϊέναι, λάθοι ἀν αὐτοὺς ὁ σύμπας βίος διαρρυεῖς καὶ ἀπολόμενος.

7 Ἀλλ' ὅτι γε οὐ τόπος ἔστιν ὁ παρέχων, οὐδὲ τὸ ἀποδημῆσαι, τὸ μὴ φαῦλ' ἄττα πράττειν, δῆλον,⁴ οὐδὲ

¹ ἐκβάλοι Emperius: ἐκβάλλοι Venetian edition, ἐκβάλῃ M, ἐκβάλλῃ UB.

² δύνανται Morel: δύναται.

³ τοσοῦτον Capps: τοιούτον.

⁴ δῆλον added by Cohoon.

TWENTIETH DISCOURSE : RETIREMENT

Consequently the majority of men are just like
those who would be unable to render an accounting for the money they have spent, explaining what they have spent each several item for, although enormous sums have clearly been expended: so neither could these men render an accounting for their time and their past life, nor explain for what they have spent each day, or month, or year, although life is clearly passing by and time being spent, this being of no little value to man, of no less value to him, in my opinion, than money. But all the same, when one drachma has been lost, the man cannot help noticing it and being in some way distressed; and if a person loses several, there are not many who remain undisturbed by such a matter. I do not mean that they are pained and hurt because of their carelessness and because they failed to give heed to avoid such conduct as should properly have hurt them, but simply at the loss of the drachmas. But when a day is gone and lost, or two or three of them, there is no one who gives that a thought! Yet in the one case they are able to reckon thus much: that if they fail to give heed and take thought of such matters, all their property may slip away and be lost without their noticing it. But in the matter we are now discussing, men are not able to apply the same method of reckoning in order to reach the same conclusions, to wit, that if they do not take thought for each day and watch lest they aimlessly throw it away, their whole life may slip away and be lost before they know it.

But clearly it is not the place where you are nor this going abroad that affords an escape from doing sundry trivial things, nor is it even one's having

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

εἰς Κόρινθον ἡ Θήβας ἀνακεχωρηκέναι, τὸ δὲ τὸν βουλόμενον πρὸς αὐτῷ εἶναι· καὶ γὰρ ἐν Θήβαις καὶ ἐν Μεγάροις καὶ πανταχοῦ σχεδὸν οὐ τις ἄν ἀπέλθῃ¹ τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἔνεστι τό τε ἀργεῖν καὶ τὸ ρᾳθυμεῖν, καὶ οὐκ ἀπορήσει προφάσεως, ὅπου ἄν τύχῃ ὥν, δι’ ἣν βλακεύων τε καὶ ἀσχολούμενος ἀναλώσει καὶ πάνυ πολὺν 8 χρόνον, ἄν οὕτως τύχῃ· μὴ οὖν βελτίστη καὶ λυσιτελεστάτη πασῶν ἡ εἰς αὐτὸν ἀναχώρησις καὶ τὸ προσέχειν τοῖς αὐτοῦ πράγμασιν, ἐάν τ’ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι τύχῃ τις ὥν ἐάν τ’ Ἀθήνησιν ἐάν τ’ ἐν στρατοπέδῳ ἐάν τ’ ἐν νήσῳ μικρῷ καὶ μόνος. αἱ γὰρ τοιαῦται ἀναχωρήσεις καὶ ἀποδημίαι μικράν τινα ἔχουσι ροπὴν πρὸς τὸ σχολὴν ἄγειν καὶ τὸ πράττειν τὰ δέοντα· ὥσπερ τοῖς ἀσθενοῦσιν ἐφ’ ἑτέρας καὶ ἑτέρας κλίνας κατακλίνεσθαι φέρει μέν τινα ἐνίστε μικράν ἀνάπαυσιν, οὐ μὴν ἵκανήν γε οὐδὲ ὥστε 9 ἀπαλλάξαι· ἴδειν τε τε ἔστι καὶ ἐν τῷ πάνυ πολλῷ θορύβῳ τε καὶ πλήθει οὐ κωλυόμενον πράττειν ἔκαστον τὸ αὐτοῦ ἔργον, ἀλλ’ ὅ τε αὐλῶν ἡ διδάσκων αὐλεῖν τοῦτο ποιεῖν, πολλάκις ἐπ’ αὐτῆς τῆς ὁδοῦ τὸ διδασκαλεῖν ἔχων, καὶ οὐδὲν αὐτὸν ἔξιστησι τὸ

¹ ἀπέλθῃ Dindorf: ἀπέλθοι.

¹ Corinth was noted for its elegant and expensive women, Thebes for its dullness. Cf. the proverb: "Not every man can afford the trip to Corinth"—οὐ παντὸς ἀνδρὸς εἰς Κόρινθον ἔσθι ὁ πλοῦς.

² Seneca (*Letters* 56. 5) says: "Of what advantage is silence all around if the feelings are clamouring?"—Quid prodest

TWENTIETH DISCOURSE : RETIREMENT

retired to Corinth or to Thebes,¹ but rather the being occupied with one's own self, when one so wishes. For in Thebes and in Megara, yes, anywhere almost that one may go, whether in Greece or in Italy, it is possible for one to live in idleness and to take one's ease; and one will not lack a pretext, wherever he happens to be, for spending quite a good deal of time, if it so happens, in busying one's self with affairs as well as in loafing. I am therefore inclined to think that the best and most profitable kind of retirement is retirement into oneself and giving attention to one's own concerns, whether one happens to be in Babylon, or in Athens, or in a military camp, or alone on a little island.² For retirements and sojournings abroad of the kind we have mentioned conduce very little to one's having leisure and doing only what one ought to do. Sick persons, for instance, by changing from one bed to another do sometimes get a little relief, but certainly not enough nor such as would rid them of their malady. And we often see how even in the midst of a very great turmoil and throng the individual is not hampered in carrying on his own occupation; but, on the contrary, the man who is playing the flute or teaching a pupil to play it devotes himself to that, often holding school in the very street, and the crowd

totius regionis silentium si adfectus fremunt?—Compare also Horace, *Epistles* 1. 11. 27-30: “Their sky, not their soul, those change who run across the sea. A strenuous inactivity busies us. We seek the good life in ships and chariots. What you seek is here, is at Ulubrae, if you possess an unruffled soul”—*Cuiusq[ue] animus in auro et in trans mare currunt. Strenua
vixit, et quod petimus bene vivere. Quod petis hic est, est Ulubris, animus si te non deficit aequus.*

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

πλῆθος οὐδὲ ὁ θόρυβος τῶν παριόντων, ὁ τε
 ὄρχούμενος δύοις ἡ δρχηστοδιδάσκαλος πρὸς
 τούτων ἐστίν, ἀμελήσας τῶν μαχομένων τε καὶ
 ἀποδιδομένων καὶ ἄλλα πραττόντων, ὁ τε κιθα-
 ριστὴς ὁ τε ζωγράφος· ὁ δὲ πάντων σφοδρό-
 τατόν¹ ἐστιν· οἱ γὰρ τῶν γραμμάτων διδάσκαλοι
 μετὰ τῶν παιδῶν ἐν ταῖς ὅδοῖς κάθηνται, καὶ
 οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἐμποδών ἐστιν ἐν τοσούτῳ πλήθει
 10 τοῦ διδάσκειν τε καὶ μαθάνειν. ἦδη δέ ποτε
 εἶδον ἐγὼ διὰ τοῦ ἵπποδρόμου βαδίζων πολλοὺς
 ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἀνθρώπους ἄλλο τι πράττοντας, τὸν
 μὲν αὐλοῦντα, τὸν δὲ ὄρχούμενον, τὸν δὲ θαῦμα
 ἀποδιδόμενον, τὸν δὲ ποίημα ἀναγιγνώσκοντα,
 τὸν δὲ ἄδοντα, τὸν δὲ ἴστορίαν τινὰ ἡ μῦθον διηγού-
 μενον· καὶ οὐδὲ εἰς τούτων οὐδένα ἐκώλυσε
 προσέχειν αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ προκείμενον πράττειν.
 11 Καίτοι τούτων οὐδέν ἐστι τῶν ἔργων ὃ συνάγει
 τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ καθίστησι καὶ καταφρονεῖν ποιεῖ
 τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων. παιδείᾳ δέ, ὡς ἔοικε, καὶ
 φιλοσοφίᾳ, αἱ μάλιστα τοῦτο διαπράττονται,
 πολλῆς ἐρημίας τε καὶ ἀναχωρήσεως τυγχάνουσι
 δεόμεναι· καὶ ὥσπερ τοῖς νοσοῦσιν, εἰ μὴ παντα-
 χόθεν ἐστὶ σιωπή τε καὶ ἡσυχία, οὐ δυνατὸν
 ὑπνου μεταλαβεῖν, οὕτως ἄρα καὶ τοῖς φιλολόγοις·
 εἰ μὴ πάντες ὑποσιγήσουσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ μήτε
 ὄραμα μηδὲν ἄλλο ἐσται μήτε ἀκούσματος ἀκούειν
 μηδενός, οὐκ ἄρα οἴα τε ἐσται ἡ ψυχὴ τοῖς
 αὐτῆς² προσέχειν καὶ περὶ ταῦτα γίγνεσθαι.

12 Ἄλλ' ἔγωγε ὄρῳ καὶ τοὺς πλησίους τῆς θαλάττης

¹ σφοδρότατόν Emperorius: φοβερώτατόν.

² αὐτῆς Reiske: αὐτῆς BM, αὐτοῖς.

TWENTIETH DISCOURSE: RETIREMENT

does not distract him at all, nor the din made by the passers-by; and the dancer likewise, or dancing master, is engrossed in his work, being utterly heedless of those who are fighting and selling and doing other things; and so also with the harper and the painter. But here is the most extreme case of all: The elementary teachers sit in the streets with their pupils, and nothing hinders them in this great throng from teaching and learning. And I remember once seeing, while walking through the Hippodrome,¹ many people on one spot and each one doing something different: one playing the flute, another dancing, another doing a juggler's trick, another reading a poem aloud, another singing, and another telling some story or myth; and yet not a single one of them prevented anyone else from attending to his own business and doing the work that he had in hand.

However, you will object, there is none of these occupations that concentrates the mind, steadies it, and causes it to look with disdain upon all other things; and education, apparently, and philosophy, which best accomplish this, do require great seclusion and retirement; and, just as the sick, unless there is silence and quiet all about them, are unable to get any sleep, so, you see, it is with seekers after learning —unless everybody about them is quiet, and unless there is nothing distracting to be seen or heard, their mind will find it impossible to give attention to its own affairs and to concentrate on these.

Yet I for my part notice that people who live

¹ The hippodrome, or track for chariot-racing, was found in many ancient cities. The most famous one was at Olympia. For a description of it see Pausanias 6. 20. 10 ff.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

οὐδὲν πάσχοντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ διανοεῖσθαι δυναμένους
ἀβούλονται διανοεῖσθαι καὶ λέγοντας καὶ ἀκούον-
τας καὶ καθεύδοντας ὅπόταν αὐτοῖς ἦ καιρός, ὅτι
οὐδὲν οἴονται προσήκειν αὐτοῖς τοῦ ψόφου¹ τούτου
οὐδὲ φροντίζουσιν. εἰ δέ γε ἐβούλοντο προσ-
έχειν ὅπότε μείζων ἦ ἐλάττων γύγνοιτο ἥχος ἦ
διαριθμεῖν τὰ κύματα τὰ² προσπίπτοντα ἢ τοὺς
λάρους τε καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅρνεα ὄρāν, ὅπως ἐπι-
πέτονται ἐπὶ τὰ κύματα καὶ νήχονται ρᾳδίως ἐπ'
αὐτῶν, οὐκ ἀν ἦν αὐτοῖς σχολὴ ἄλλο τι ποιεῖν.

13 Οὐκοῦν καὶ ὅστις δυνατὸς ἔννοησαι περὶ τῶν
πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τοῦ θορύβου τοῦ κατ'
αὐτοὺς καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων, ὅτι οὐδὲν διαφέρει
ταῦτα τῶν ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ γυγνομένων, οὐκ ἀν
ἐνοχλοῦτο ὑπὸ πάντων.³ ἀλλὰ τοῦτο ἔστιν, ὡς
ἔοικε, πολλοῦ ἄξιον τι⁴ μάθημα καὶ δίδαγμα, τὸ
τὴν ψυχὴν ἐθίζειν ἔπεσθαι τῷ λόγῳ καὶ μὴ ἐπ'
ἄλλ' ἄπτα τρέπεσθαι ἢ τά τε προκείμενα καὶ
14 δοκοῦντα ὀρθῶς ἔχειν· καὶ ἡμῖν⁵ οὕτως ἐθισθεῖσα
ἡ ψυχὴ λόγῳ δυνησεται ἀπαντα διαπράττεσθαι τὰ
προσήκοντα αὐτῇ, ἡ δὲ ρεμβομένη τε καὶ ἀλύουσα
καὶ ἄλλοτε ἐπ' ἄλλο τρεπομένη, ὅταν τι προφανῆ
ποτε ἡδονὴν τινα ἢ ράστωνην ἔχον, ὥσπερ ὕδατος
ἐν ἐτεροκλινεῖ χωρίῳ ὅποι ἔτυχε τρεπομένου,
οὐδὲν ἀν ὠφεληθείη⁶ οὐδὲ ὑπὸ τῆς πάσης ἡσυχίας
τε καὶ ἐρημίας.

15 Οἶδα γὰρ ἔγωγε καὶ τῶν κυνῶν τὰς μὲν καλῶς

¹ ψόφου Morel: φόβου.

² τὰ added by Reiske.

³ ὑπὸ πάντων: ὑπ' αὐτῶν Geel.

⁴ ἄξιον τι Capps: ἄξιον τὸ.

⁵ For ἡμῖν Selden proposed ἡ μὲν.

⁶ ὠφεληθείη Casaubon: ὠφεληθῆ.

TWENTIETH DISCOURSE : RETIREMENT

by the sea are not affected by its sounds, but are able to put their minds on anything they like, that they speak and listen and sleep when they feel that the time has come for these things, because they think that the sound is no concern of theirs and so do not mind it. But if they did care to take notice when the roar increased or diminished, or to count the waves that break upon the shore, or to watch the gulls and other birds, how they alight on the waves and float easily on them, they would not have time to do anything else.

So, too, the man who can bring himself to reflect in regard to the crowds and the din they cause and their various affairs, that these things differ not one whit from what takes place on the sea, will not be troubled by any of them. Nay, we have in this, it would seem, a very valuable lesson and bit of instruction—that we should accustom the mind to follow reason¹ and not to let it be diverted to any other thing whatsoever than the matters which are before it and thought to be fitting. And when we have thus accustomed the mind by reason will be able to accomplish all its proper work ; but the mind that spins this way and that and fidgets and turns to one thing after another, whenever anything comes in sight at any time which offers some pleasure or relaxation, like water that turns in every way as it chances on a piece of uneven ground, will derive no benefit whatever from even perfect quiet and seclusion.

I myself know that when well trained² and willing

¹ Socrates was ever exhorting his hearers to do this. See, for example, Plato, *Gorgias* 527 e.

² The phrase *καλῶς ἀχθεῖν* occurs also in Xenophon, *Memorabilia of Socrates* 4. 1. 3.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

ἀχθείσας καὶ φιλοπόνους,¹ ἐπειδὰν ἀφεθῶσιν, εὐθὺς ἀναζητούσας τὸ ἵχνος, καὶ οὐδ’ εἰ πάντες ἀποκαλοῦνται, οὐκ ἄν ποτε τοῦτο ἀπολειπούσας,² οὐδ’ εἰ πολλαὶ μὲν φωναὶ πανταχόθεν φέρουντο, πολλαὶ δὲ ὄσμαὶ ἀπό τε τῶν καρπῶν καὶ ἀνθῶν ἐμπλέκονται, πολὺ δὲ³ πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων τε καὶ ἄλλων ζώων φαίνοιτο καὶ ἵχνη τὰ μὲν ἵππων, τὰ δὲ βοῶν, τὰ δὲ προβάτων· οὐδὲν οὔτε ὁρᾶ τούτων οὔτε αἰσθάνεται αὐτῶν οὐδενός, ἀλλὰ ἐκεῖνα παριδοῦσα πανταχόθεν ἐκλέγει τὸ ἵχνος κάκείνῳ ἔπειται μέχρις ἄν εὗρῃ τε καὶ ἀναστήσῃ τὸν λαγών, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα κατέχει διώκουσα, δι’ ὅποιων ἄν ποτε ἥη χωρίων, καὶ οὔτε πεδίου οὔτε ὁδὸς οὔτε τὰ λίαν τραχέα οὔτε χαράδρα ἥ ῥεῦμα ἀποκωλύει αὐτήν, πολλούς τινας δρόμους τοῦ λαγὼν θέοντος καὶ πειρωμένου

16 ἔξαπατάν· τὰς δὲ ἀμαθεῖς τε καὶ ἀπαιδεύτους κύνας βραδέως μὲν αἰσθανομένας, ταχέως δὲ ἀπαγορευούσας, εἰ δέ ποθεν ἀλλαχόθεν προσπέσοι θροῦς, εἴτε ὑλακὴ κυνῶν εἴτε ἀνθρώπων φθεγξαμένων ὁδοιπόρων ἥ νομέων, εὐθὺς ἀνακυπτούσας ἐκ τοῦ ἵχνους κάκεν φερομένας. τούτων δὴ πάντων, ὅπερ ἔφην, τὸ ἔθος αἴτιον. δόμοίως δὲ καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἔθίζειν ἄν δέοι μηδέποτε ἀποτρέπεσθαι μηδὲ ἀναχωρεῖν τοῦ δοκοῦντος εἶναι προσήκοντος ἔργου. εἰ δὲ μή, οὐ ῥάδιον περιγενέσθαι οὐδὲ ἔξεργάσασθαι οὐδὲν ἵκανως.

17 "Η οὐκ ἐν ταῖς ἔρημίαις καὶ ἡσυχίαις, οὐκ ἐνταῦθα μάλιστα ἀνευρήκασιν οἱ ἀνόητοι ἀνθρώποι, ὅπως μηδὲν διανοῶνται τῶν δεόντων, ἔτερα

¹ φιλοπόνους Dindorf: φιλοπόνως.

² ἀπολειπούσα Wilamowitz: ἀπολιπούσας.

TWENTIETH DISCOURSE : RETIREMENT

dogs are unleashed, they straightway pick up the trail, and not even if all the hunters should try to call them back, would they ever leave it; no, not even if many voices from all sides should reach them, and many odours emanating from the fruits and flowers should be mingled with the scent, and a great host of men and other creatures should come to view, and tracks of horses here and of cattle or sheep there. Such a dog sees none of these things, notices none of them, but disregarding all those other things, picks out the trail on all sides and follows it until she finds and puts up the hare; and after this she keeps up the pursuit, no matter what country she has to pass through, and neither plain nor road nor exceedingly rough ground, nor ravine nor stream can stop her, in spite of all the doublings the hare makes in its attempts to put her off the scent. But ignorant and untrained dogs I find are slow to pick up the trail and quick to give up the chase, and if a noise reaches their ears from any quarter, whether the barking of dogs, or the shouting of men, whether wayfarers or herdsmen, they straightway lift their noses from the trail and rush off in that direction. For all these things, just as I have said, habit is responsible. And in the same way the mind also should be made accustomed never to turn aside or withdraw from what it regards as its proper work. Otherwise it will not be easy to rise above one's surroundings or to accomplish anything satisfactorily.

Or is it not in wildernesses and places undisturbed by sounds, or chiefly there, that foolish men, trying not to concentrate their thoughts upon the essential

³ πολὺ δὲ Reiske : πολύ τε.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

πολλὰ καὶ ἄτοπα διανοήματα, οἵς ἀγαπῶσι
 ἔυνόντες, τυραννίδας τε καὶ πλούτους καὶ ἄλλ'
 ἄττα θαυμαστὰ ἀναπλάττοντες αὐτοῖς; οἱ
 μὲν θησαυρούς τινας ἀνασκάπτοντες¹ χρυσοῦ τε
 καὶ ἀργύρου πλῆθος ἔξαιφνης ἀμιήχανον δόσον
 κτώμενοι, οἱ δὲ βασιλεῖς τε καὶ μονάρχους πόλεων
 τε καὶ ἐθνῶν ἀποδεικνύντες σφᾶς αὐτούς, ἐπειτα
 ἥδη τὰ ἔξῆς περὶ τὴν τυραννίδα πάντα πράττοντες,
 τοὺς μέν τινας ἀποκτινύντες, τοὺς δὲ ἐλαύνοντες,
 παρθένοις δὲ καὶ μειρακίοις καὶ γυναιξὶ πλησιά-
 ζοντες αἷς ἂν ἐθέλωσιν, ἐστιάσεων δὲ² καὶ
 εὐωχιῶν τῶν πολυτελεστάτων μεταλαμβάνοντες,
 18 οἱ δέ τινες ἀργύριον ἐκδανεῖζοντες ἡ ἄλλας ἐργασίας,
 οίνον ἐγρηγορότες τε καὶ δρῶντες ὄνείρατα ποικίλα
 καὶ παντοδαπὰ πλάττοντες αὐτοῖς. ἐνίοτε γε
 μὴν ἐκ τῶν ὀνειράτων τούτων ἀποβαίνει καὶ
 ὑπάρ αὐτοῖς τὰ φαυλότατα καὶ ἄτοπώτατα.
 τυραννίδες μὲν γὰρ οὐ πάντα τι ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων
 γίγνονται· οὐ γὰρ ἐθέλει ἡ τυραννὶς ὑπὸ ῥᾳθύμου
 τε καὶ τρόπον τινὰ ἀεὶ κοιμωμένης διανοίας
 θηρεύεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τούναντίον ὑπὸ δριμείας τε καὶ
 ἀγρύπνου φροντίδος· δαπάναι δὲ καὶ ἔρωτες καὶ
 τοιαῦταί τινες διατριβαὶ πολλοῖς ἥδη πολλάκις
 ἀπήντησαν.

19 Όλον δὴ ἐγὼ οἶμαι τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, ὡς ἐτύγχανε
 σχολὴν ἄγων ἐν τῇ Ἱδῃ περὶ τὰ βουκόλια, τοιαύτης
 ἐννοίας καὶ ἐπιθυμίας αὐτῷ γενομένης ὡς ἄρα
 εὔδαιμόν τε καὶ μακάριον τὸ τὴν πασῶν καλλίστην
 γυναῖκα ἔχειν, καὶ οὕτε βασιλεία τούτου ἄξιον
 τοῦ χρήματος οὕτε πλούτος οὕτε κρατεῖν μαχόμενον

¹ ἀνασκάπτοντες θεοὶ: ἀναπλάττοντες.

² δὲ added by Empérius.

TWENTIETH DISCOURSE : RETIREMENT

things, have conjured up many strange imaginings, things amid which they yearn to live, shaping for themselves in fancy sovereign power and riches and other such marvels? Some dig up treasures of gold and silver and thus suddenly come into possession of an enormous quantity of them; and others make themselves emperors and absolute rulers of cities and nations, then straightway putting into practice everything that goes with a tyranny: putting some to death and banishing others, making free with any virgins or boys or matrons that they choose, and taking part in the most costly banquets and feasts; others put out money on usury or engage in other enterprises, dreaming all kinds of bright dreams to themselves just as if they were wide awake with their eyes open. Aye, and sometimes, to be sure, as the result of these dreams there comes for them the most trivial and absurd awakening from such dreams! For tyrannies are not at all likely to spring from such things, since a tyranny is not apt to be sought by a mind that is slothful and in a sense always asleep, but on the contrary, by keen and unsleeping thought. But lavish expenditures, love intrigues, and such like adventures have undoubtedly often fallen to the lot of many.

I may cite Alexander¹ as an instance: I fancy that, when he happened to be enjoying a respite from his herdsman's duties on Mount Ida, the thought and with it the desire came to him, what a fortunate and blissful thing it would be to have the most beautiful woman in the whole world to wife, and that neither a throne was as valuable as this prize, nor wealth, nor the conquest of the whole world in war; next he

¹ More commonly known as Paris.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

άπάντων ἀνθρώπων, μετὰ ταῦτα ἥδη διανοεῖσθαι
 τίς τε¹ δὴ καὶ παρὰ τίσιν ἡ τοιαύτη γυνὴ καὶ
 20 πόθεν ἀν αὐτῷ τοιοῦτος ὑπάρξαι γάμος· καὶ δὴ
 τὰς μὲν ἐν Ἰλίῳ νύμφας καὶ παρθένους ἄτε τύραν-
 νος ὃν ἡτίμαζε καὶ οὐκ ὥστο ἀξίας αὐτοῦ² τυχεῖν,
 δμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰς Λυδῶν τε καὶ Φρυγῶν, τάς
 τε ἐν Λέσβῳ καὶ τὰς ἐν Μυσίᾳ γυναικας ὑπερεώρα.
 πυνθανόμενος δὲ ἐν Σπάρτῃ τινὰ εἶναι Διὸς
 λεγομένην θυγατέρα, Μενελάῳ συνοικοῦσαν, ἀνδρὶ
 βασιλεῖ καὶ βασιλέως ἀδελφῷ τῆς ἔνυπάσης
 Ἐλλάδος, ἣν ἐμνήστευσάν τε καὶ ἔσπευστιν λαβεῖν
 πολλὰ ἔδινα καὶ δῶρα διδόντες οἱ πρῶτοι τε
 καὶ ἄκροι τῶν Ἐλλήνων· καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀδελφῶν
 ἀγαθῶν ἐλέγετο εἶναι Πολυδεύκους καὶ Κάστορος,
 Διὸς υἱῶν γενομένων· ἐπειθύμησεν αὐτῷ ταύτην
 21 γενέσθαι τὴν γυναικα. ἄλλως μὲν οὖν οὐ πάνυ
 τι ἥγεντο δυνατόν· εἰ δὲ θεός τις ὑπόσχοιτο καὶ
 δοίη, τάχ' ἀν γενέσθαι τὸ τοιοῦτον. καὶ τίνα
 δὴ θεὸν ἄλλην εἰκὸς τὰς τοιαύτας χαρίζεσθαι
 χάριτας ἢ τὴν κρατοῦσάν τε καὶ ἄρχουσαν τῶν
 περὶ τοὺς γάμους τε καὶ ἔρωτας; οὐκον³
 ἐκείνης διδούσης ἀδύνατον ἥγεντο τὸν γάμον.
 πῶς ἀν οὖν ἐκείνην πείσαι χαρίσασθαι ἢ εἰ τρόπον
 τινὰ γίγνοιτο αὐτὸς προσφιλῆς τῇ θεῷ καὶ
 δωρεάν τινα καὶ χάριν δεδωκώς; ἀλλ' οὔτε
 χρημάτων αὐτὴν τυγχάνειν δεομένην, ἄτε χρυσῆν
 οὖσαν καὶ πάντα χρήματα ἀπλῶς κεκτημένην,

¹ τε Emperius: δὲ. ² αὐτοῦ added by Arnim.

³ οὐκον Arnim: οὐκοῦν.

¹ That is, Agamemnon.

² Aphrodite is here called ‘golden’ because of the wealth of her shrines and the golden adornment of her statues. In
 262

TWENTIETH DISCOURSE : RETIREMENT

began to speculate as to who and where this woman of his fancy might be, among what people she lived, and by what means he could compass so splendid an alliance ; and so he began to despise the nymphs and maidens of Ilium with a prince's disdain and to think them not worth his winning, and in the same way also he despised the women of Lydia and Phrygia, and those in Lesbos and Mysia. But learning that in Sparta there was a certain reputed daughter of Zeus, living in wedlock with Menelaus, a king in his own right and brother of the king of all Greece,¹ a woman whom the first and foremost of the Greeks had wooed and sought to win by offering many wedding-gifts and presents and, to crown all, that she had, according to report, brave brothers twain, Polydeuces and Castor, true sons of Zeus. So he coveted this woman for his wife. Now in the ordinary course of events he thought that this was not at all feasible, but that if some god should promise and give her, so wild an ambition might perhaps be realized. What goddess, then, he asked himself, was likely to grant favours of this kind other than she who held authority and ruled over all that pertained to marriage and to love ? Therefore, if she offered him this bride, he thought the marriage not impossible. How, then, could he persuade her to grant him this favour unless in some way he should ingratiate himself with the goddess by giving her some boon or favour ? But he reflected that she did not stand in need of wealth, since she was ' golden '² and possessed all the wealth in the world, absolutely ;

passages such as Homer, *Iliad* 5. 427 and 19. 282 the term refers primarily to her radiant beauty. See also the footnote on p. 261 of vol. I.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

οὕτε θυσιῶν· πάντας γὰρ αὐτῇ πανταχοῦ θύειν·
 οὕτε ἄλλῃ τινὶ ὁμιλίᾳ καὶ δεῆσει ρῖζῶντας ὑπα-
 κοῦσαι ἄν· ἀλλ' εἰ σὲ μάλιστα ἐπιθυμεῖ¹ καὶ
 δὲ πάντων τιμιώτατον νενόμικε, τοῦτο προσθέει
 τις αὐτῇ καὶ μαρτυρίζειν ὡς ἔστι καλλίστη,
 22 τάχ' ἀν ἀγαπήσαι αὐτήν. τικάν δὲ καὶ προκρί-
 νεσθαι κατὰ τοῦτο τύνος ἀν ποτε ἀξιώσειν ἥ
 θεῶν τῶν πρώτων καὶ μεγίστων, Ἀθηνᾶς τε καὶ
 Ἡρας; καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον, εἰ φιλίουντο ἐκεῖναι
 μεγάλα καὶ θαυμαστὰ παρεχόμεναι δῶρα ἔνεκα
 τῆς νίκης. οὕτω δὴ διελθῶν τε καὶ ἐξεργασάμενος
 τὴν αὐτοῦ δόξαν καὶ ἐπίνοιαν, οἷον ψυχῆς ἐν
 ὕπνῳ φαντασίαις καὶ δόξαις² ἐπακολουθούσης
 καὶ μακρόν τι καὶ συντεταγμένον ὑφαινούσης
 ὅναρ, κριτής τε ὑπὸ Διὸς γίγνεται τῶν θεῶν· καὶ
 τὰς μὲν ἄλλας,³ αὐτάς τε ὑπερεῦδε καὶ τὰ δῶρα
 αὐτῶν, τὴν δὲ προέκρινεν ἐπὶ μισθῷ τε καὶ δώρῳ
 τῷ λαβεῖν τὸν γάμον ἐκείνης τῆς γυναικὸς ὑπέρ
 ἦς ἐνεθυμήθη τε καὶ εὔξατο.

23 Εἰ μὲν οὖν αὐτὸ τοῦτο βουκόλος καὶ ἴδιώτης
 ἔτυχεν ὡν, οὐδὲν ἀν πρᾶγμα ἀπήντησεν ἐκ τοῦ
 τοιούτου ὀνείρατος. νῦν δὲ ἐπειδὴ τύραννος
 καὶ δυνάστης ἦν καὶ πλούτῳ τε ἵσχυων καὶ
 ἀρχῇ⁴ πόλεως τῆς τότε μεγίστης καὶ τῇ τῶν
 γονέων πρὸς αὐτὸν εὐνοίᾳ, τὰ λοιπὰ ἦδη ἔργῳ
 ἐξεργάσατο ὡς ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀληθῶς γεγονόσι,
 ναῦς τε ναυπηγησάμενος καὶ ἐταίρους συναγαγών·

¹ ἐπιθυμεῖ Ar nim : ἐπεθύμει.

² φαντασίαις καὶ δόξαις Reiske : φαντασίας καὶ δόξης.

³ ἄλλας added by Capps.

⁴ ἀρχῇ Emperius : ἀρχὴν M, ἀρχειν UB.

¹ i.e., if unaccompanied by a gift of some sort.

TWENTIETH DISCOURSE : RETIREMENT

nor sacrifices either, since all men everywhere offered her sacrifice; nor would she readily heed anything else one might say or any mere petition.¹ But if, he thought, one were to present her with the thing which she desired most of all, what she had looked upon as the most valuable thing in the world, and should bear witness for her that she was the most beautiful goddess, perhaps she would consent. Then to win the victory and to be preferred in this contest of beauty—over what divinity, he asked himself, would she think she could afford to prevail except over the foremost and greatest of them, Athena and Hera? And this would be all the more so if these two should put in an appearance, offering great and wonderful gifts for the sake of winning. So after canvassing the matter in this way and elaborating his own imagining and conceit, like a soul which in its sleep follows out its phantasies and imaginings and spins out some long and coherent dream, he is appointed by Zeus, he fancies, umpire over the goddesses; and as to the other goddesses, he disregarded both their persons and their gifts, and chose the third in return for the bribe and gift of winning that woman as wife who had been the object of his thoughts and for whom he had prayed.

If, then, he had been nothing more than a herdsman and a commoner in rank, no trouble would have come to him from that ambitious dream. But as it was, since he was of kingly blood and a mighty prince, and of great influence owing to his wealth and the dominion over the greatest city of those days, and the affection which his parents bore for him, he forthwith realized the rest of his dream, just as if the first part had actually happened; and after building

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

καὶ πλεύσας ἐπί τε τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ Σπάρτην
καὶ εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν ἀφικόμενος τὴν Μενελάου καὶ
Ἐλένης καὶ ξενίων τυχών, ἀναπείσας καταλιπεῖν
αὐτὴν τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἥκεν ἄγων εἰς
Τροίαν πολλῶν καὶ χαλεπῶν πραγμάτων καὶ
συμφορῶν ἀρχῆν.

24 Οὕτως αἱ μὲν Ἰδιωτικῆς καὶ ἀδυνάτου ψυχῆς
ἔννοιαι¹ τε¹ καὶ ἐπιθυμίαι² ὑπηρέμιοι² τε καὶ
ἀδρανεῖς, καὶ οὐδὲν ἀπ' αὐτῶν γίγνεται χαλεπόν,
ἄλλ' ὥσπερ τὰ τῷ δόντε οὐείρατα ἀναστάντων
εὐθὺς οὖχεται καὶ οὐδὲν αὐτῶν, ὡς φασι, τὸν
ἥλιον οὐδὲ τὴν ἡμέραν ὑπομένει, παραπλησίως
καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἔχει³ ἐπιθυμήματά τε καὶ ἐλπίσματα,
τὰ⁴ δὲ τῶν μονάρχων ἡ πλουσίων ἡ ἄλλην τινὰ
ἔχοντων δύναμιν ἐπὶ πέρας ἀφικεῖται πολλάκις
25 χαλεπόν τε καὶ φοβερόν. καὶ ἔστιν ὅμοιοι,
ὥσπερ ἔμοὶ δοκεῖ, τὸ τοιοῦτον ὑπηρεμίοις γεννή-
μασιν. φασὶ γὰρ δὴ ὡὰ γίγνεσθαι οὕτως ἄνευ
συνουσίας τε καὶ μίξεως ἄρρενος, ἢ καλοῦσιν
ὑπηρέμια, ὡς ὑπ' ἀνέμῳ προσπεσόντι γιγνόμενα.
ὅθεν δὴ καὶ "Ομηρος, ἔμοὶ δοκεῖν, οὐκ ἀδύνατον
ἥγησάμενος οὐδὲ ἀπίθανον τοῖς ἀνθρώποις φανῆναι
ἴππων ὑπηρέμιον γένος, τὸν Βορρᾶν ἔφη ἐρασθέντα
Τρωικῶν τινων ίππων ἐμπλῆσαι τε αὐτὰς γονῆς
καὶ γένος ίππων ἔξ αὐτῶν γενέσθαι. ὅμοιώς
φιλεῖ⁵ πολλάκις ἔκ τινος ἐνθυμήματος ψευδοῦς
καὶ ἀδυνάτου ἀποβῆναι πρᾶγμα ἀληθές.⁶

¹ ἔννοιαι τε Emperoris : ἄνοιαι τε ΗΜ, ἄνιαι τε Β.

² ὑπηρέμιοι Dindorf : ὑπῆρεμοι.

³ ἔχει Reiske : ἔχειν.

⁴ τὰ Selden : ταῖς.

⁵ ὅμοιώς φιλεῖ (or ὡτε) added by Cohoon.

TWENTIETH DISCOURSE : RETIREMENT

ships and assembling a retinue, he sailed for Greece and Sparta, entered the home of Menelaus and Helen, where he was hospitably received, induced her to leave her husband and Hellas, and then returned to his home, bringing into Troy the beginning of many grievous troubles and disasters.

Thus, whereas the thoughts and desires of the soul of a man in private station and without influence are wind-begotten and ineffectual, and no difficulty arises from them, but just as real dreams are gone at once when the dreamers rise from their beds, and no part of them can endure the sun or the day, as the saying is, so it is with desires and hopes of this kind; yet those of monarchs, on the other hand, or of men of wealth or of those who possess some other power, quite often reach a fulfilment that is both grievous and terrible. And this sort of thing, in my opinion, is just like wind-begotten products of generation. For they do indeed say that some eggs are produced in this way without the intercourse and impregnation of the male seed, and they are called wind-eggs as if begotten by a gust of wind. And this is the reason, as it seems to me, why even Homer, in the belief that it was not impossible or incredible that a wind-begotten breed of horses should have appeared to men, said that the North Wind, becoming enamoured of some Trojan mares, impregnated them with his seed so that a breed of horses came from them.¹ In like manner, what begins with a mistaken and impossible idea often ends in an accomplished fact.

¹ See Homer, *Iliad* 20. 223-229.

⁶ Emperius followed by some editors deleted the words πολλάκις . . . ἀληθές.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

26 Εἴρηται δέ μοι πάντα ταῦτα ἀπ' ἐκείνης τῆς
ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐκτροπῆς, ὅτι δεῖ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐθίζεσθαι
τὰ δέοντα πράττειν καὶ διανοεῖσθαι πανταχοῦ
τε καὶ ἐν ἅπαντι θορύβῳ καὶ ἐν ἀπάσῃ ἡσυχίᾳ.
εἰ δὲ μή, τὸ τῆς ἐρημίας τε καὶ ἡσυχίας οὐδὲν
μεῖζον καὶ ἀσφαλέστερον τοῖς ἀνοήτοις τῶν
ἀνθρώπων πρὸς τὸ μὴ πολλὰ καὶ ἄτοπα διανοεῖσθαι
τε καὶ ἀμαρτάνειν.

TWENTIETH DISCOURSE : RETIREMENT

All that I have said follows from that initial digressive remark that the mind should accustom itself to do and think what is essential to it everywhere, even in a perfect din as well as in perfect quiet. Otherwise seclusion and quiet offer no advantage and no greater safeguard, for men who are fools, to keep them from conceiving and committing many strange and wicked deeds.



THE TWENTY-FIRST DISCOURSE: ON BEAUTY

The date of this Discourse may be determined roughly from a consideration of § 10, where Dio says that every body wishes that Nero were still alive. This statement was approximately true if made in the reign of the bloodthirsty tyrant Domitian. At that time even Dio, who was unjustly suffering exile by Domitian's orders, would have preferred Nero. In the good reigns of Vespasian and Titus, who preceded Domitian, and of Nerva and Trajan, who followed him, Dio could not have made that statement. Then too, at Domitian's death in A.D. 96 Nero would have been in his sixtieth year had he lived, so that in the following period, some twenty-eight years after Nero's death, it is unlikely that the great majority, as Dio says in the same section, still believed him to be alive. Finally, at the end of this section Dio's companion accuses him of "everlastingly" ridiculing his fellow-men. This was a characteristic of the Cynic philosophers, and we infer from the thirteenth Discourse that Dio did not appear in the rôle of a philosopher before his banishment, even if he was converted to a belief in philosophy prior to this.

At the opening of the Discourse Dio is led by the sight of the statue of a handsome youth to express regret that beauty among males is dying out because unappreciated, while that of females is increasing. If, then, there are no longer any really handsome men, we Greeks are coming round to the view of the Persians that women are superior to men in beauty. The mention of the Persians leads Dio to speak of certain unnatural sexual practices among them, and this in its turn recalls to his mind the wickedness of Nero. Finally Dio's companion gets a chance to ask about the parentage of the young man represented by the statue and is told that he has no father. However, he is distinctly Greek in type, for Dio maintains that there is a distinctly Greek type of beauty.

This Discourse, then, is in the form of conversation between Dio and another man, your ~~university~~ and a Greek also, in which Dio informally gives ~~his~~ ~~opinions~~ on beauty. One cannot fail to notice the discursiveness and loquacity so characteristic of our author.

21. ΠΕΡΙ ΚΑΛΛΟΥΣ

Δ. 'Ως ύψηλὸς ὁ νεανίσκος καὶ ὥραιος· ἔτι δὲ ἀρχαῖον αὐτοῦ τὸ εἶδος, οἷον ἐγὼ οὐχ ἔώρακα τῶν νῦν, ἀλλ' ἡ τῶν Ὀλυμπίασιν ἀνακειμένων τῶν πάνυ παλαιῶν· αἱ δὲ τῶν ὕστερον εἰκόνες ἀεὶ χείρους καὶ ἀγεννεστέρων φαίνονται, τὸ μέν τι ὑπὸ τῶν δημιουργῶν, τὸ δὲ πλέον καὶ αὐτοὶ τοιοῦτοί εἰσιν.

¹ Ή δεινὸν λέγεις, εἰς ὅσπερ φυτόν τι ἡ ζῷον ἐκλελοίπασι τῷ χρόνῳ οἵ καλοί, οἷον δή φασι τοὺς λέοντας παθεῖν τοὺς ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ· οὐ γὰρ ἔτι αὐτῶν εἴναι τὸ γένος· πρότερον δὲ ἥσαν καὶ περὶ Μακεδονίαν καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις τόποις· εἰς οὕτως οἴχεται δὴ κάλλος ἐξ ἀνθρώπων.

2 Δ. Τό γε ἀνδρεῖον, ὃ βέλτιστε· τὸ μέντοι γυναικεῖον ἵσως πλεονάζει. ἀνὴρ δὲ καλὸς καὶ σπάνιον μὲν¹ γίγνεται νῦν, καὶ γενόμενος² τοὺς πλείστους λανθάνει, πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἡ οἵ καλοὶ ἵπποι τοὺς ὁρεωκόμους. εἰς δ' ἄρα καὶ ἄφαιντο³

¹ After μὲν Emperius added εἰ.

² γενόμενος Emperius: γινόμενος B, γιγνόμενος UM.

³ ἄφαιντο Reiske: ἄφαιτο.

¹ For this meaning of ἀρχαῖον see Plutarch, *Life of Pericles* 13. 3, where is he speaking of the public buildings which Pericles had erected: "Each of them, in its beauty, was even then and at once *antique*; but in the freshness of its vigour, it is, even to the present day, recent and newly wrought"

THE TWENTY-FIRST DISCOURSE: ON BEAUTY

Dio. How majestic the youth is and handsome; and, what is more, his appearance is ancient or classic¹ in type, such as I have not seen in our modern statues, but only in those set up at Olympia, the very old ones. The images of the subsequent periods even show a steady decline and clearly represent less noble features, to some extent owing to the sculptors, but chiefly because the persons portrayed are themselves like their statues.

Interlocutor. It is surely a sad state of affairs, according to what you say, if the beautiful have died out in the course of time just like some plant or animal—the fate which they do say has overtaken the lions in Europe; for the race of lions is now extinct there, though formerly they were to be found in Macedonia and in other places as well—it is unfortunate, I repeat, if beauty has really disappeared from mankind in this way.

Dio. Masculine beauty at least has, my good sir; feminine beauty, however, is perhaps increasing. But a handsome man is not only getting to be a rare sight nowadays; but when there is one, the majority fail to notice his beauty, much more than muleteers fail to observe beautiful horses. And if people

(Perrin in L.C.L.)—κάλλει μὲν γὰρ ἔκαστον εὐθὺς ήν τότε ἀρχαῖον, ἀκμῇ δὲ μέχρι νῦν πρόσφατόν ἐστι καὶ νεουργόν.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

τῶν τοιούτων, μεθ' ὑβρεως καὶ πρὸς οὐδὲν ἀγαθόν· ὥστε μοι δοκοῦσι καὶ οἱ γενόμενοι ταχὺ λήγειν καὶ ἀφανίζεσθαι. οὐ γάρ μόνον ἡ ἀρετὴ ἐπαίνῳ αὔξεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ κάλλος ὑπὸ τῶν τιμώντων αὐτὸν καὶ σεβομένων· ἀμελούμενον δὲ καὶ οὐδενὸς εἰς αὐτὸν βλέποντος ἡ πονηρῶν βλεπόντων σβέννυται, ὥσπερ τὰ κάτοπτρα.

"Ἄρ" οὖν, ὅπερ Ἀθηναῖοι πολλάκις, καὶ ἡμᾶς χρὴ ἀναρχίαν¹ ἀναγράφειν τὸν παρόντα καιρόν,
3 ὡς οὐδενὸς ὄντος καλού;

Δ. Ναὶ μὰ Δία, ὡς Πέρσαι γε ἐνόμιζον· Ἑλλήνων δὲ οὐδεὶς πλὴν ἡ εἰς² τις ἐκ τῶν τριάκοντα. ἡ οὐκ οἰσθα Κριτίαν τὸν τῶν τριάκοντα, ὅτι κάλλιστον ἔφη εἶδος ἐν τοῖς ἄρρεσι τὸ θῆλυ, ἐν δ' αὐτῷ ταῖς θηλείαις τούναντίον; οὐκοῦν δικαίως Ἀθηναῖοι νομοθέτην αὐτὸν εἴλοντο ἐπί γε τῷ μεταγράψαι τοὺς παλαιοὺς νόμους, δις οὐδένα αὐτῶν ἔλιπεν.

Εἰεν· οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι πῶς ἐνόμιζον;

4 Δ. Οὐ γάρ φανερόν, ὅτε εὐνούχους ἐποίουν τοὺς καλούς, ὅπως αὐτοῖς ὡς κάλλιστοι ὕσιν; τοσοῦτον διαφέρειν ὤντο πρὸς κάλλος τὸ θῆλυ. σχεδὸν δὲ

¹ Casaubon added κάλλους before ἀναρχίαν unnecessarily.

² πλὴν ἡ εἰς Capps (ἢ εἰς Arnim) : ἡ εἰ.

1 The Athenians elected annually nine magistrates called archons. If in any year they did not have archons, that year was called ἀναρχία, i.e., a period without an archon. Such was the year of the Thirty Tyrants. Here the word is used to mean a period without a handsome man, as the context shows. For the meaning ^{εἰς} εἰς Χρυσόστομον Hellenica 2. 3. 1 and Aristotle, Constit.

2 Critias, who had followed Socrates, was the most prominent of the Thirty Tyrants who, put in power

TWENTY-FIRST DISCOURSE : ON BEAUTY

do by any chance take an interest in handsome men, it is in a wanton way and for no good purpose. The result is, in my opinion, that even the handsome men that do appear speedily drop out and disappear. For it is not only virtue that is increased by commendation, but so is beauty likewise by those who honour and revere it. But when it is disregarded and esteemed by no one, or when wicked men esteem it, it fades away like reflections in a mirror.

Int. Should we, then, adopt the frequent practice of the Athenians and in a similar way record the present time as being an interregnum¹ because there is no beautiful man?

Dio. Yes indeed we ought, at least as the Persians regarded beauty; but no one of the Greeks so regarded it, except one of the Thirty. Or do you not know the story about that Critias,² who was a member of the Thirty? He said that the most beautiful figure among males was the effeminate, but among the females, on the other hand, the opposite. Therefore the Athenians were justified in choosing him as lawgiver that he might alter the old laws,³ for in fact he left not one of them unchanged.

Int. Very well! But how did the Persians regard beauty?

Dio. Why, does it need any explanation, seeing that they made eunuchs of the beautiful males in order that they might have them as beautiful as possible? So greatly superior in beauty did they think the female to be. And practically all the

through the influence of the Spartans, ruled Athens in 404 B.C.

³ The Thirty were ~~.....~~ drew up a new code of laws on the basis of "..... of the fathers."

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

καὶ πάντες οἱ βάρβαροι, ἥπερ τὰ ἄλλα ζῶα, διὰ
τὸ μόνον τὰ ἀφροδίσια ἐννοεῖν. ὡς οὖν λέγεται
Δαιδαλος ποιῆσαι τὸν ταῦρον ἔξαπατῶν, περιτεῖναι
τῷ ξύλῳ δέρμα βοός, κάκεῦνοι γυναικὸς εἶδος
περιτιθέασι τοὺς ἄρρεσιν, ἄλλως δὲ οὐκ ἐπίστανται
5 ἐρᾶν. ἵσως δὲ καὶ ἡ τροφὴ αἰτία τοῦ Πέρσαι,
τὸ μέχρι πολλοῦ τρέφεσθαι ὑπό τε γυναικῶν καὶ
εὐνούχων τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, παῖδας δὲ μετὰ
παιδῶν καὶ μειράκια μετὰ μειρακίων μὴ πάνυ
συνεῖναι μηδὲ γυμνοῦσθαι ἐν παλαιότραις καὶ
γυμνασίοις. ὅθεν ἐγὼ οἴμαι ξυμβῆναι αὐτοῖς ταῖς
μητράσι μίγγυσθαι· ὥσπερ οἱ πῶλοι, ἐπειδὴν
ἀδρότεροι ὅντες ἀκολουθῶσιν ἔτι ταῖς μητράσι,
6 ἐπιβαίνειν ζητοῦσιν. τὸ μέντοι τῆς τροφῆς καὶ
ἐνταῦθα δείκνυσι τὴν ἴσχυν. κάλλιον μὲν γὰρ
δὴ πολὺ ἵππος ὄνου, οἱ δέ γε ὄνοι οὐκ ἐπιθυμοῦσιν
ἵππων διὰ τὴν φύσιν, εἰ μὴ ὃς ἂν ἦ τεθραμμένος
ἵππου γάλακτι· σόμοίως δὲ καὶ ἵππος πωλευθεὶς
ὑπὸ ὄνου τὸ αὐτὸ πάσχει.

'Ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ ἡ ἔξουσία¹ παράνομόν
τι ἔστι. Νέρωνα γοῦν πάντες ἐπιστάμεθα ἐφ'

¹ van Herwerden suggested that Dio wrote ἡ ἄρρενων συνονοτὰ, "intercourse with males," which was toned down under Christian influence to ἡ ἔξουσία.

¹ Daedalus, a mythical personage, whose name means 'cunning craftsman'—according to one version of the old Cretan myth about King Minos and his wife Pasiphaë that can be traced back as far as a lost play of Euripides called *The Cretan Women*—made a wooden cow to enable her to satisfy her passion for the bull sent by Poseidon. By doing this he angered Minos, who shut him up in a prison, from which he escaped by the use of wings. For a reference to this cow see Suetonius, *Lives of the Caesars* 12. 2.

TWENTY-FIRST DISCOURSE: ON BEAUTY

barbarians treated them in the same way, just as they did the animals—because the only thing they thought of was the lust of the flesh. Then, just as Daedalus is said to have acted when he deceived the bull by stretching a cow's hide over a framework of wood,¹ so they try to put a feminine appearance on the males, being incapable of loving them in any other way. But perhaps in the case of the Persians the way the boys are reared is the cause, I mean that for a long time they are brought up by women and the older eunuchs, and that young boys do not associate much with other young boys, nor the striplings with others of their own age, and that they do not go naked in the wrestling schools and gymnasia.² This is the reason why, in my opinion, cases have occurred where they had intercourse with their mothers; just as colts, when they still follow their dams although fairly well grown, try to cover them. Moreover, the influence of their nurture is shown in the following case also. A horse is certainly far more beautiful than an ass, but yet the asses, because they are of a different breed, feel no passion for mares, except when they have been raised on mare's milk; and similarly, a horse that has been suckled by an ass is affected in the same way.³

In human beings unlimited power also is a lawless sort of thing.⁴ Take Nero for instance: we all

² Young boys at Athens did all of these things.

³ Cf. Aristotle *Hist. Anim.* p. 577 b, 15: οὐ προσδέχεται δὲ οὔτε ἡ ἵππος τὸν ὄνον οὔτε ἡ ὄνος τὸν ἵππον, ἔάν μη τύχῃ τεθῆλακὺς ὁ ὄνος ἵππον· ὑποβάλλουσι γὰρ ἐπίτηδες οὓς καλοῦσιν ἵππόθηλας. οὗτοι δὲ ὀχεύουσιν ἐν τῇ νομῇ βίᾳ κρατοῦντες, ὥσπερ οἱ ἵπποι.

⁴ See vol. I, p. 40, for about the same thought; and cf. critical note, p. 276.

ΩΝΟ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜ

ἥμῶν ὅτι οὐ μόνον ἔξέτεμε τὸν ἐρώμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ μετωνόμασε γυναικεῖον, τῆς αὐτοῦ¹ ἐρωμένης καὶ γυναικός, ἥσ εἴκενιος ἐπιθυμήσας ἔγημεν, ἀναφανδὸν εἴρξας τὴν πρόσθεν, ἐφ' ἣ τὴν βασιλείαν εἰλήφει.

7 Καὶ τί ἦν τὸ ὄνομα τῇ γυναικί, ὃ τῷ εὐνούχῳ ἔθετο;

Δ. Τί δὲ σοὶ τοῦτο; πάντως γάρ οὐ 'Ι'οδογούνη ἐλέγετο. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνός γε καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ τρίχας διεκέιριτο, καὶ παιδίσκαι τὴνολούθουν, ὅπότε βαδίζοι, καὶ ἀμπελίχετο ἐσθῆτα γυναικείαν, καὶ τά γε ἄλλα οὕτως ἡμαγκάζετο ποιεῖν· τέλος δὲ προυτέθησαν μεγάλαι καὶ τιμαι καὶ χρήματα ἄπειρα τὸ πλῆθος, ὅστις αὐτὸν γυναικα ποιήσειεν.

"Η οὖν καὶ ὑπέσχοντο;

8 Δ. Τί δὲ οὐκ ἔμελλον ἐκείνων ὑποσχέσθαι τοσαῦτα διδόντι; ἢ οὐκ οἶσθα τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ διδόντος ὅση ἔστιν; ὅπου γε καὶ ὅπόταν βασιλέα ἀποδεῖξαι δέῃ, τὸν πλουσιώτατον αἴροινται καὶ παρ' οὐ ἀν ἐλπίσωσιν ὡς πλεῖστον ἀργύριον λήψεσθαι, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα οὐδὲν φροντίζουσιν ὅποιος ἀν ἦ, καν μέλλη πάντας διατεμεῖν παραλαβὼν τὴν ἀρχήν,

¹ αὐτοῦ Dindorf: αὐτοῦ.

¹ This youth, whose name was Sporus, possessed a striking resemblance to Nero's second wife, Poppaea Sabina. After her death Nero had him mutilated, gave him the name Sabina, and in A.D. 67 publicly went through the ceremony of marriage with him in Greece. This Sporus was present at Nero's suicide. Afterwards he was intimate with Otho, whose wife Poppaea Sabina was before she married Nero. Sporus committed suicide under Vitellius to avoid appearing on the stage under degrading circumstances. See Suetonius, *Lives of the Caesars*, 6. 28.

TWENTY-FIRST DISCOURSE : ON BEAUTY

know how in our own time that he not only castrated the youth whom he loved, but also changed his name for a woman's, that of the girl whom he loved and his subsequent wife,¹ for whom he conceived a passion and wedded after openly incarcerating his former wife,² to whom he was already married when he became Emperor.

Int. And what was the woman's name which he gave to the eunuch?

Dio. What concern of yours is that? At any rate she was not called Rhodogunê.³ But that youth of Nero's actually wore his hair parted, young women attended him whenever he went for a walk, he wore women's clothes, and was forced to do everything else a woman does in the same way. And, to cap the climax, great honours and boundless sums of money were actually offered to anyone who should make him his wife.

Int. Well, then, did they actually promise to do so?

Dio. Why should they not have promised that man who offered so much? Or do you not know how great the might of the giver is? For example, wherever and whenever it is necessary to appoint an Emperor, they choose the wealthiest man, any one from whom they hope to get the most money; but as to the other qualifications, they do not care what sort of man he is, even if he sooner or later is to geld them all after taking over the government—

² She was Octavia, daughter of the emperor Claudius and Messalina.

³ Rhodogunê was the daughter of Arsaces VI., also called Mithradates I., who greatly extended the Parthian empire. After defeating and capturing Demetrius Nicator in 138 B.C. he gave Demetrius this daughter in marriage.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

τούς τε ἄλλους ἅπαντας καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους τοὺς
 εἰληφότας τὰ χρήματα, καὶ ἔτι πάντων αὐτοὺς
 9 καὶ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἀφαιρήσεσθαι. τούτῳ δὴ
 μάλιστα περιῆν ὁ Νέρων, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἀντέλεγεν
 αὐτῷ περὶ οὐδενὸς ὃ τι εἴποι οὐδὲ ἀδύνατον ἔφη
 εἶναι ὃ κελεύσειν, ὥστε καὶ εἰ πέτεσθαι κελεύοι
 τινά, καὶ τοῦτο ὑπέσχετο αὐτῷ, καὶ συχνὸν χρόνον
 ἐτρέφετο ἔνδον παρ' αὐτῷ ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις,
 ὡς πτησόμενος. μόνος γάρ δὴ οὐδένα τρόπον
 ἐφείδετο χρημάτων, οὕτε διδοὺς οὕτε λαμβάνων.
 διὰ μόνην μέντοι ταύτην τὴν ὕβριν καὶ ἀπέθανε
 τὴν εἰς τὸν εὔνοῦχον. ὀργισθεὶς γάρ ἐξήγηγκεν
 αὐτοῦ τὰ βουλεύματα τοῖς περὶ αὐτόν· καὶ οὕτως
 ἀπέστησαν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡγάγκασαν ὅτῳ ποτὲ
 τρόπῳ ἀπολέσθαι αὐτόν· οὐδέπω γάρ καὶ νῦν
 10 τοῦτο γε δῆλον ἔστιν· ἐπεὶ τῶν γε ἄλλων ἔνεκεν
 οὐδὲν ἐκώλυεν αὐτὸν βασιλεύειν τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον,
 ὃν¹ γε καὶ νῦν ἔτι πάντες ἐπιθυμοῦσι ζῆν. οἱ δὲ
 πλεῖστοι καὶ οἴονται, καίπερ² τρόπον τινὰ οὐχ
 ἄπαξ αὐτοῦ τεθνηκότος, ἀλλὰ πολλάκις μετὰ
 τῶν σφόδρα οἰηθέντων αὐτὸν ζῆν.

Σὺ μὲν ἀεὶ λόγους ἀνευρίσκεις, ὥστε διασύρειν
 τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ νῦν ἐξ οὐδενός, ὡς εἰπεῖν,

¹ ὃν added by Casaubon.

² καίπερ Emporius: καὶ.

1 Cf. Suetonius, *Lives of the Caesars* 12. 2.

2 The allusion is to the false Neros. The first of these appeared in A.D. 69. He was a slave from Pontus or else a freedman from Italy. See Tacitus, *Histories* 2. 8 and 9; Cassius Dio 64. 9. Then Zonaras (*Chronicles* 11. 18) mentions a pretender, Terentius Maximus of Asia, who appeared in the reign of Titus (A.D. 79–81) and was supported by the Parthians. Probably there is a reference to the same pretender in Tacitus,

TWENTY-FIRST DISCOURSE: ON BEAUTY

everybody including the men who have received the money, and, besides, intends to deprive them of every blessed thing they have. This, indeed, was especially true of Nero, and no one contradicted him in anything, whatever he said, or affirmed that anything he commanded was impossible to perform, so that even if he ordered anyone to fly,¹ the man promised that too and for a considerable time he would be maintained in the imperial household in the belief that he would fly. For Nero was the only man who was utterly regardless of money both in giving and in taking. It was solely on account of this wantonness of his, however, that he lost his life—I mean the way he treated the eunuch. For the latter in anger disclosed the Emperor's designs to his retinuc; and so they revolted from him and compelled him to make away with himself as best he could. Indeed the truth about this has not come out even yet; for so far as the rest of his subjects were concerned, there was nothing to prevent his continuing to be Emperor for all time, seeing that even now everybody wishes he were still alive. And the great majority do believe that he is, although in a certain sense he has died not once but often along with those who had been firmly convinced that he was still alive.²

Int. You are everlastingly hunting up reasons for ridiculing what your fellow-men do and think, and now with scarcely a shadow of a pretext you

op. cit. 1. 2. Suetonius at the end of his *Life of Nero*, speaks of a man who came forth twenty years after the death of Nero, that is, in A.D. 88, claiming to be Nero and supported by the Parthians. Whether he is the same man as the preceding is not clear. However, from Tacitus, *op. cit.* 5 we conclude that there were several false Neros.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

ἐπὶ ταῦτα ἥλθες. ὁ δὲ ἐβουλόμην ἐρέσθαι, οὐκ εἴασας.

11 Δ. "Ισως γάρ μου καταφρονεῖς καὶ ἡγῆ με ληρεῖν, ὅτι οὐ περὶ Κύρου καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδου λέγω, ὡσπερ οἱ σοφοί ἔτι καὶ νῦν, ἀλλὰ Νέρωνος καὶ τοιούτων πραγμάτων, νεωτέρων τε καὶ ἀδόξων ὧν μυημονεύω. τούτου δὲ αἴτιον τὸ μὴ πάνυ φιλεῖν τοὺς τραγῳδοὺς μηδὲ ζηλοῦν· ἐπεὶ οἶδα ὅτι αἰσχρόν ἔστιν ἐν τραγῳδίᾳ τοὺς νῦν ὄντας ὄνομάζειν, ἀλλ' ἀρχαίου τινος ἔδει¹ πράγματος καὶ οὐδὲ πάνυ πιστοῦ. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἔμπροσθεν οὐκ ἥσχύνοντο τοὺς τότε ὄντας ὄνομάζειν καὶ λέγοντες καὶ γράφοντες· οἱ δὲ νῦν ἔκείνους ἔξι² ἄπαντος ὄνομάζειν ζητοῦσιν. ἥτινι δὲ τῇ σοφίᾳ πράττουσιν αὐτό, ἐγώ σοι ἐρῶ—καὶ³ μὴ πάντα φλυαρεῖν με φῆς· ἀλλ' ἵσως πολλοῦ⁴ δέω—⁵ πάντως γάρ πισι⁶ τῶν βιβλιοπωλῶν προσέσχηκας;

Διὰ τί δὴ τοῦτο με ἐρωτᾶς;

Δ. "Οτι εἰδότες τὰ ἀρχαῖα τῶν βιβλίων σπουδαζόμενα, ὡς ἄμεινον γεγραμμένα καὶ ἐν κρείττοσι βιβλίοις,⁷ οἱ δὲ τὰ φαυλότατα τῶν νῦν καθέντες εἰς σῖτον, ὅπως τό γε⁸ χρῶμα ὅμοια γένηται τοῖς παλαιοῖς, καὶ προσδιαφθείραντες⁹ ἀποδίδονται ὡς παλαιά. ἀλλὰ τί ἦν δὲ πάλαι δὴ ἐρέσθαι σπεύδεις;

13 Περὶ τοῦδε τοῦ νεανίσκου, ὅστις τέ ἔστι καὶ

¹ For ἔδει Reiske proposed δεῖ.

² For καὶ Jacobs conj. ὡς, Reiske ἴνα.

³ πολλοῦ Arnim: διοῦ M, ὅπου UB.

⁴ δέω Arnim: δέῃ. ⁵ τισι Cohoon: τινι.

⁶ βιβλίοις Casaubon: βιβλίοις.

⁷ γε Casaubon: τε.

⁸ προσδιαφθείραντες Roushe: προσδιαφθείροντες.

TWENTY-FIRST DISCOURSE : ON BEAUTY

have got round to this topic. Consequently you have given me no chance to ask a question I wanted to ask.¹

Dio. Oh yes, I suppose you look down on me and think that I am drivelling because I am not talking about Cyrus and Alcibiades, as the wise-acres do, even at this late date, but about Nero and subjects of that kind, more recent and inglorious, which I can remember. The reason for this is that I do not much care for the writers of Tragedy nor try to emulate them; for I know that it is a disgrace to mention people of the present day in a tragedy, but that it is some ancient event which I should have touched upon and one not very credible either. Yet men of former times certainly were not ashamed to name people of their own day whether in speaking or in writing; but those of the present day strive to name the ancients on any pretext. I shall tell you what wisdom they show in doing this—and don't you declare everything I say is nonsense; perhaps, however, it is anything but nonsense—for surely you have noticed what some of our booksellers do?

Int. Just what is your reason for asking me this?

Dio. Because they, knowing that old books are in demand since better written and on better paper, bury the worst specimens of our day in grain in order that they may take on the same colour as the old ones, and after ruining the books into the bargain they sell them as old. But what was it that you have been wanting all this while to ask me?

Int. It is about this young man here. Who is

¹ He asks it in § 13.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

οὐτινος.¹ ὡς ἐγὼ οὐδένα πώποτε οὕτως² ἔξεπλά-
γην. ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἡλικία παῖδα αὐτὸν ἐνδείκνυ-
σιν ἑκκαΐδεκα ἵσως ἢ ἐπτακαΐδεκα ἔτῶν· τὸ δὲ
μέγεθος οὐδενὸς ἥττον τῶν ἀνδρῶν· ἡ δὲ αἰδὼς
τοσαύτη ὥστε καὶ τὸν προσιόντα αἰδεῖσθαι
εὐθὺς ποιεῖ. καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐπὶ πλέον αὐτοῦ εἰς
τὸ πρόσωπον ὅραν, εἰ μὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀποβλέψειν
ἀπὸ τύχης. οὐδεὶς γὰρ οὕτως ἀναιδῆς οὐδὲ
λίθινός ἔστιν ὅστις ὑπομενεῖ καὶ ἀντιστήσεται
ὅραν αὐτόν, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἀνάγκη τραπῆναι καὶ
μεταβαλέσθαι τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ. τοῦτο δὲ ἐγὼ τὸ
πάθος πάνυ θαυμάζω, ὅτι τὸ κάλλος, ἐὰν μετὰ
αἰδοῦς ἦ, καὶ τοὺς ἀναιδεῖς τρέπει τε καὶ ἀναγκάζει
αἰδεῖσθαι.

14 Δ. "Ισως γὰρ οὐ προσενόησας τὸ ἐν τοῖς ὕδασι
γιγνόμενον.

Τί δή;

Δ. "Οτι τοῦ ἡλίου ἐπιλάμψαντος εἰς τὸ κατ'
εὐθὺ μάλιστα ἀντιλάμπει. καὶ ἵσως ἔώρακας ἐν
τοῖς τοίχοις τὸ κινούμενον καὶ περιτρέχον φῶς,
οὐκ ὃν ἀληθινόν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν τοῖς ὕδασιν
αὐγῆς τοῦ ἡλίου γεγονὸς πρὸς τὸ μάλιστα κατ'
εὐθύ. τοιοῦτον οὖν τι καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀληθινῆς
αἰδοῦς ἀντιλάμπει τε καὶ ποιεῖ δοκεῖν αἰδεῖσθαι
τοὺς ὄρῶντας.³ ἔπειτ' εὐθὺς ἀπελθόντες ἀναιδεῖς
εἰσιν.

"Ως ἔμοιγε καὶ ὁ παιδοτρίβης ἐδόκει καὶ αὐτὸς
οἶον ἐνθουσιῶν τε καὶ ἐκπεπληγμένος.

¹ After οὐτινος the MSS. have νίσ, which von Arnim bracketed.

² οὕτως added by Casaubon.

³ ὄρῶντας Casaubon: ἄρῶντας.

TWENTY-FIRST DISCOURSE : ON BEAUTY

he and to whom does he belong? I declare that I have never been so struck with admiration for anyone. For while his appearance shows him to be a boy of sixteen perhaps, or seventeen years, he is as tall as any man; and then his modesty is such that he makes anyone approaching feel abashed at once. And it is impossible to gaze longer at his face unless he himself should chance to look away. For no one is so shameless or made of stone as to hold his ground and stand looking at him face to face, but one must at once turn away and drop one's eyes. And this effect surprises me very much—that beauty when combined with modesty makes even brazen-faced men turn away and forces them to feel abashed.

Dio. Yes, for perhaps you have not noticed what occurs in the water.

Int. What is that?

Dio. That when the sun is shining straight down, the reflection is strongest. And perhaps you have seen on walls a moving and dancing light, not a real light, but the reflection of the sun's light in the water—in contrast to the most direct reflection. Now there is a somewhat similar reflection from true modesty, which makes the beholders appear to be abashed. Then as soon as they go away, they are once more unashamed.¹

Int. Just as I thought that even the gymnastic trainer, hardened as he is, seemed in the youth's presence to be, as it were, dumbfounded as well as entranced.

¹ Xenophon (*Symposium* 1. 8-10) also compares beauty to light, praises it when combined with modesty, and speaks of its ennobling effect on the beholder. Cf. also what *Dio* says in *Discourse* 12. 51.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

15 Δ. Οὐκοῦν ἔτι μᾶλλον θαυμάσεις, ἐπειδὰν πύθη
ὅτι οὗτος τοιοῦτος ὡν οὐδενός¹ ἔστιν.

Πῶς λέγεις μηδενὸς εἶναι αὐτόν;

Δ. Οὕτως ὅπως σὺ ἐπύθου ὅτου ἔστιν. οἷμαι
γὰρ ἐρωτᾶν σε ὅτου υἱός ἔστιν.

’Αλλ’ ἢ τῶν Σπαρτῶν ἔστιν εἰς;

Δ. Πρέποι μὲν ἀν τῷ μεγέθει αὐτοῦ καὶ τῇ
ἀνδρείᾳ, εἴ γε ἐπιεικεῖς ἥσαν καὶ φιλάνθρωποι
τὰς φύσεις ὕσπερ ὅδε, ἀλλὰ μὴ παντελῶς σκληροὶ
καὶ ἄγριοι, τῆς γῆς τὰ τέκνα· ἐπεὶ τό γε² σῶμα
οὐ φαύλως εἰκάζεις Βοιωτίῳ μᾶλλον εἰκάζων αὐτὸν
ἢ Λακωνικῷ τε καὶ Ἀττικῷ. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ
Ἐλληνικὸν ἄκρως ἔστιν, οὐ δεῖ δήπου ἀγνοησαι.

16 Τί γάρ; εἴη τις ἀν τοῦ γένους διαφορὰ πρός γε
τὸ κάλλος; ἢ οὐδένα οἵει γίγνεσθαι ἐν τοῖς
βαρβάροις καλόν;³

Δ. ’Αλλ’ οὐκ οἵει τὸ μέν τι βαρβαρικὸν εἶναι,
ὕσπερ εἶδος, καὶ κάλλος, τὸ δὲ Ἐλληνικόν, ὕσπερ
καὶ φωνὴν καὶ ἐσθῆτα· ἀλλ’ ὅμοίως σοι δοκεῖ
γενέσθαι καλὸς Ἀχιλλεύς τε καὶ Ἔκτωρ;

Οὐ γὰρ μόνον ὡς περὶ ἀνδρείου τοῦ Ἐκτορος ὁ
ποιητὴς διέξεισιν;

Δ. Ὅπου γε τὰς ναῦς ἐμπίμπρησιν· οὐ γάρ,
οἷμαι, περὶ κάλλους ἐπρεπεν αὐτόθι⁴ μεμνῆσθαι.

¹ After οὐδενὸς the MSS. have υἱός, which Emporius bracketed.

² τό γε Pflugk: γε τὸ.

³ The words ἢ οὐδένα . . . καλόν moved here by Casaubon from their position after εἶδος καὶ κάλλος (two lines *infra*) in the MSS.

⁴ αὐτόθι Capps: αὐτοῦ ἔτι οг αὐτοὺς ἔτι.

TWENTY-FIRST DISCOURSE : ON BEAUTY

Dio. Therefore you will be all the more surprised to learn that this handsome youth belongs to no one.

Int. What do you mean by his belonging to no one?

Dio. Just what you meant by asking to whom he belongs. For I suppose you were asking whose son he is.

Int. Well, is he one of the Sown Men? ¹

Dio. That would be in keeping with his stature and manliness, if they had been gentle and kindly in disposition, just as this youth is, and rough and wild, real children of the earth; for as to his physique, you are not far wrong in likening him to a Boeotian rather than to a Spartan or an Athenian. For that he is utterly Greek, I presume is quite patent.

Int. Why, I should like to know? Can there be any racial distinction as regards beauty? Or do you think that no handsome man is to be found among foreigners?

Dio. Well, do you not think that there is a foreign type of beauty, as there is of general appearance, and an Hellenic type, just as their language and dress differ, or do you think that Achilles and Hector were handsome in just the same way?

Int. Why, does not the poet discourse about Hector as a brave man only?

Dio. Yes, where he is setting fire to the ships. For it would not, I think, have been fitting to mention beauty at that point. But after he had

¹ The Σπαρτοί, or 'Sown Men,' sprang from the dragon's teeth sown by Cadmus, the builder of the citadel of Thebes. The five who survived became, according to tradition, the ancestors of the Thebans, that is, Boeotians.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

τελευτήσαντος δὲ καὶ γυμνωθέντος ἐκπλαγῆναι φησιν αὐτοῦ τὸ κάλλος τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ἴδοντας, οὕτω πως λέγων·

οἵ καὶ θηήσαντο φυὴν καὶ εἶδος ἀγητὸν
“Ἐκτόρος.

17 οὐ γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῖς πρότερον, οἷμαι, σχολὴ θηήσασθαι αὐτὸν ἀκριβῶς· καὶ τὰ ἄλλα σχεδὸν σαφέστερον ἐπέξεισιν καὶ¹ ὡς οὐ περὶ ἄλλου τινὸς τῶν καλλίστων· τὴν τε γὰρ κεφαλὴν χαρίεσσαν αὐτοῦ φησιν εἶναι καὶ τὴν κόμην πάνυ μέλαιναν καὶ τὸ σῶμα οὐ σκληρόν. περὶ δὲ τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως εἴδους οὐδὲν λέγει καθ'² ἔκαστον ἀλλ'³ ἢ τῆς κόμης, ὅτι ξανθὸς ἦν, καὶ περὶ τῆς Εὐφόρβου κόμης καὶ Πατρόκλου ὡς μάλιστα ἐν ἀκμῇ τελευτησάντων, καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων σμικρόν τι περὶ ἔκαστου καὶ ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν τῶν καλλίστων· πλὴν ὅτι γε οὐδεὶς ἂν³ εἴποι τούσδε ὅμοίως ἂν εἶναι καλούς, οὐδὲ Ἀλέξανδρον ἢ Εὐφόρβον ἢ Τρωίλον ἐοικέναι τι Μενελάῳ καὶ Πατρόκλῳ καὶ Νιρέῃ, οὐδὲ ἐν τοῖς βαρβάροις Σέσωστριν τὸν Αἰγύπτιον ἢ Μέμνονα τὸν Αἰθίοπα ἢ Νινύαν⁴ ἢ Εύρυπυλον ἢ Ηέλοπα.

¹ καὶ added by Cohoon.

² ἀλλ' added by Reiske.

³ οὐδεὶς ἀν Casaubon : οὐδὲ καν.

⁴ Νινύαν Reiske : Μινύαν.

¹ Homer, *Iliad* 22. 370 f. ³ κυάνεαι *Iliad* 22. 402.

² *Iliad* 22. 373 : μαλακώτερος . . . ἢ ὅτε νῆσας ἐνέπρησεν.

⁴ *Iliad* 17. 51 : “that was like the hair of the Graces.”

⁵ Brave Trojan slain by Menelaus, who dedicated his shield in the temple of Hera near Mycenae. Pythagoras said he had been Euphorbus in a previous incarnation and to prove it identified this shield at sight and took it down.

⁶ Troilus, son of Priam, or Apollo, and Hecuba, slain by Achilles.

TWENTY-FIRST DISCOURSE : ON BEAUTY

been slain and stripped, the Achaeans were simply amazed on beholding his beauty, so the poet says in about the following words :

“ Then gazed they upon the wonderful form and beauty of Hector.”¹

For I imagine that before this they had been too busily occupied to gaze upon him critically. And the poet goes on to describe him more vividly, one may almost say, and in greater detail than he describes any other of the most handsome men. For he says that his head was graceful, his hair quite black,² and his body not hard.³ But about Achilles' appearance he gives no detail except to say that his hair was auburn; and he mentions the hair of Euphorbus and of Patroclus as of men who had died in the very prime of life;⁴ and about each of the other men and most beautiful women he has very little to say; however, nobody would assert that these men could have been handsome in the same way, or that Alexander, or Euphorbus,⁵ or Troilus⁶ bore any resemblance to Menelaus and Patroclus and Nireus,⁷ any more than among the barbarians Sesostris⁸ the Egyptian did or Memnon⁹ the Ethiopian, or Ninyas,¹⁰ Eurypylus, or Pelops.

¹ Handsomest man among the Greeks after Achilles, but unwarlike. Slain by Eurypylus or Aeneas.

² Mythical king of Egypt to whom the Greeks attributed all great Egyptian exploits.

³ Beautiful son of Tithonus and Eos. Was king of the Ethiopians who came to the aid of Priam. Identified with the Egyptian king Amenhotep III., a colossal statue of whom is still standing. Concerning his beauty and that of Eurypylus see Homer, *Odyssey* 11. 520-522.

⁴ Son of Ninus and Semiramis, the founders of the Assyrian empire and builders of Nineveh. Semiramis was famed for her beauty, but concerning her son no other ancient author testifies.



THE TWENTY-SECOND DISCOURSE: CONCERNING PEACE AND WAR

We have here just a fragment of this Discourse. In § 3 Dio does mention his subject, but all that precedes and follows is of an introductory nature. He says that there are many questions which are the common concern of both philosophers and orators. One class of these common questions comprises those which have to do with the state (*πολιτικὰ ζητήματα*); and some of these, such as that about peace and war, have to do with what is advisable. Then in questions of advisability the philosophers and orators make a division, the philosophers of a general nature and the orators with

This was the division made by Posidonius, the distinguished Stoic philosopher, born in 135 B.C. at Apamea, a city not far from Dio's native Prusa. That the followers of Plato and Aristotle made the same division appears from Cicero, *De Oratore* 1. 45 and 46. In this matter, then, Dio is clearly siding with the philosophers against the rhetoricians or teachers of oratory such as Hermagoras, who claimed all political questions for oratory. It is not clear, however, what Dio says here is to be taken as his present opinion, what he thinks, and at any rate we must leave that question open. He may have changed his Discourse after his conversion to philosophy.

22. ΠΕΡΙ ΕΙΡΗΝΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΛΕΜΟΥ

Πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα εὗροι τις ἂν καὶ ξύμπαντα ἀτεχνῶς τὰ ἔργου τινὸς ἔχόμενα καὶ πράξεως κοινὰ τοῖς φίλοσόφοις, καὶ ρήτορσιν ὅσοι μὴ ἀγοραῖοι μηδὲ μίσθιτοι, πρὸς χρήματα ὀρῶντες μόνον καὶ τὰς ἴδιωτικὰς ἀμφιλογίας περὶ συμβολαίων ἡ τινῶν δανείων ἐπὶ τόκῳ¹ ἀλλὰ² δημοσίᾳ συμβουλεύειν καὶ νομοθετεῖν ἀξιούμενοι· καθάπερ, οἷμαι, Περικλῆς καὶ Θουκυδίδης Ἀθήνησι καὶ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἔτι πρότερον καὶ Κλεισθένης, καὶ Πεισίστρατος ἦντος ἔτι ρήτωρ καὶ δημαγωγὸς² ἡνείχετο καλούμενος· Ἀριστείδην μὲν γάρ καὶ Λυκοῦργον καὶ Σόλωνα καὶ Ἐπαμεινώνδαν, καὶ εἴ τις ἔτερος τοιοῦτος, φίλοσόφος³ ἐν πολιτείᾳ θετέον ἡ ρήτορας κατὰ τὴν γενναίαν τε καὶ ἀληθῆ ρήτορικήν· λέγω δὲ οἶν τερί τε ἀγωγῆς τῶν νέων συμβουλεύοντας καὶ νομοθετοῦντας, ὥσπερ

¹ Δανείων ἐπὶ τόκῳ added by Cohoon, τοιούτων by Reiske.

² ἀλλὰ added by Arnim.

³ φίλοσόφος Morel: φίλοσοφος.

¹ Not the historian, but the leader of the aristocratic party in opposition to Pericles. He was ostracized in 444 B.C.

² The term ρήτωρ means primarily 'public speaker,' no matter what the subject of his address, but it was usually applied to those who addressed the people in public. Here Dio distinguishes between the great political and philosophical statesmen, such as Solon, and the lesser statesmen and

THE TWENTY-SECOND DISCOURSE: CONCERNING PEACE AND WAR

MANY things in general and absolutely everything involving any work or activity will be found common to philosophers and orators—all those orators, that is, who do not carry on their business in the market-place and work for hire with their eyes fixed on matters of money only and on private disputes regarding contracts or loans out at interest, but aspire to advise and legislate for the state. That is, I think, what Pericles and Thucydides¹ must have done at Athens, and Themistocles still earlier, and Cleisthenes, and Peisistratus, so long as he still let himself be called ‘orator’ and ‘popular leader’²—for Aristides, Lycurgus, Solon, Epaminondas, and others of the same sort should be regarded as philosophers in polities, or orators in the noble and real sense of the term. And I use the word ‘philosopher’ of men who, for example, deliberate and legislate about the training of the

politicians, such as Pericles and Themistocles. *ρήτωρ* could also mean one who pleaded in the courts, i.e. an advocate, and finally, a teacher of rhetoric.

δημαγωγός means literally ‘leader of the people’ and at times has this meaning, as it has here; but more often it was used in a bad sense to mean a political agitator appealing to the cupidity or prejudice of the masses in order to further his own interests.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

ἐν Λακεδαιμονι Λυκοῦργος, καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐρωτικῆς ὄμιλίας καὶ περὶ χρημάτων κτήσεως, ὅσην τε καὶ ὅπως δεῖ ποιεῖσθαι, καὶ περὶ γάμου καὶ περὶ κοινωνίας καὶ περὶ νομίσματος καὶ περὶ τιμῆς καὶ ἀτιμίας καὶ περὶ οἴκων κατασκευῆς, πότερα χρὴ τετειχισμένην οἰκεῖν πόλιν ἢ καθάπερ ὁ θεὸς παρήνεστε Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἀτείχιστον, καὶ περὶ ἀσκῆσεως τῶν πολεμικῶν¹ καὶ τάξεως, οὐ μόνον ὁπλιτικῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἵαν Ἐπαρμειώνδας εὑρεῖν λέγεται, τοὺς ἑραστὰς μετὺ τῶν ἑρωμένων τάξας ἵνα σώζουστο μᾶλλον καὶ μάρτυρες ὥσιν ἀλλήλοις τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ τῆς καικίας· καὶ τὸν λόχον τοῦτον, ἱερὸν ἐπονομασθέντα,² κρατῆσαι Λακεδαιμονίων τῇ περὶ³ Λεῦκτρα μάχῃ, ἔνυμπάντων 3 ἐκείνοις ἐπομένων τῶν Ἑλλήνων. τὸ δὲ δὴ κεφάλαιον, καὶ πολλάκις πολλοῖς παρέπιπτε, περὶ τε εἰρήνης καὶ πολέμου, ὃ νῦν τυγχάνει ζητούμενον.

Πᾶν δὲ τὸ τοιοῦτον γένος παρὰ τοῖς φιλοσόφοις καλεῖται περὶ τοῦ προσήκοντος, οἷον εἰ γαμητέον, εἰ πολιτευτέον, εἰ βασιλείᾳ⁴ χρηστέον ἢ δημοκρατίᾳ ἢ ἄλλῃ τινὶ καταστάσει πολιτείας· ἐν οἷς ἔστι καὶ τοῦτο, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, εἰ πολεμητέον.

Οὐ γάρ μόνον ἀπλῶς οἱ φιλόσοφοι ζητοῦσι περὶ τούτων, ἀλλὰ πηγίκα καὶ πρὸς τίνας καὶ τίνος συμβάντος ἢ μὴ συμβάντος ἔκαστα τούτων

¹ πολεμικῶν *Emperius*: πολεμίων.

² ἐπονομασθέντα *Reiske*: ἐπονομάσαντα.

³ περὶ added by *Emperius*.

⁴ βασιλείᾳ *Reiske*: βασιλεῖ.

TWENTY-SECOND DISCOURSE : ON PEACE

young, just as Lycurgus did at Sparta, and about the association of ‘lovers,’ about the acquisition of money—how much one should make and in what manner—about marriage, about the duties of citizenship, about coinage, about civic rights and the loss of them, about the setting up of households, and as to whether one should live in a walled city or, as the god advised the Spartans, in an unwalled one; about training for war and the organization of not merely the heavy-armed troops in general, but also of the formation which Epaminondas is said to have invented, in which he put the ‘lovers’ along with their beloved in order that they might have a better chance of coming through safely and might be witness to one another’s courage or cowardice—and history tells us that this Sacred Band, as it was called, conquered the Spartans in the battle of Leuctra¹ though these were supported by all Greece. But the main question of all, and one with which many have often had to deal, concerns peace and war; and this now, as it so happens, is my theme.

All problems of this sort are called by the philosophers questions of propriety: for example, whether one should marry, whether one should go into public life, whether a monarchy should be adopted, or a democracy, or some other form of government; and in these subjects, in my opinion, is included this one too, whether war should be entered into.

Indeed the philosophers not only considered these questions in their general aspect, but also these: when, with reference to whom, and after what occurrence or non-occurrence each separate action

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

πρακτέον. διαφέρει δὲ τοσοῦτον, ὅτι οἱ γε
ρήτορες ἐπὶ τῶνδε ἢ τῶνδε σκοποῦσιν, οἶνον
εἰς συμφέρει πολεμεῖν Ἀθηναίοις πρὸς Πελοπον-
νησίους ἢ βοηθεῖν Κερκυραίοις πρὸς Κορινθίους
ἢ Φιλίππων συμμαχῆσαι Θηβαίοις ἐπὶ Φωκέας ἢ
4 Ἀλεξάνδρῳ διαβῆναι εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν. ἐν γὰρ
ταύταις ἀπάσαις τὰς βουλαῖς οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐμπίπτει
καὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον, εἰ δίκαιον τοὺς μὴ προαδικήσασι
πολεμεῖν· εἰς συμβέβηκεν ἀδύκημα παρὰ τούτων
οἵς διαινοοῦνται πολεμεῖν, πηλίκουν τι τοῦτο τὸ 1
συμβεβηκός.

Οι φιλόσοφοι δὲ πόρρωθεν τὰ πράγματα ὄρωσιν, ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἔξετάζοντες ὅποι ἄπτα ἔστιν. πολὺ γάρ κρείττον τὸ βεβουλεῦσθαι περὶ ἀπάντων ἐκ πλείονος καὶ διεγνωκότας, ἐπειδὴν ἡκη τινὸς πράγματος καιρός, αὐτούς τε εἰδότας ἔχειν χρῆσθαι καὶ ἑτέροις παραινεῖν, ἀλλὰ μὴ τρόπον τινὰ ἔξαιφνης ληφθέντας ταράττεσθαι καὶ αὐτοσχεδιάζειν περὶ ὧν οὐκ ἴσασιν. 5 οἱ μὲν γάρ ρήτορες, ὅταν δέῃ σκοπεῖν περὶ τινος, οὐδὲν εἰδότες τῶν ἄλλων πλέον οὐδὲ ἐσκεμμένοι πρότερον, ἀμα τε αὐτοὶ βουλεύονται τρόπον τινὰ καὶ συμβουλεύονται ἑτέροις. οἱ φιλόσοφοι δὲ περὶ τῶν πράξεων προοΐδασι καὶ πάλαι βεβουλευ-

¹ To added by Pflugk.

¹ Corcyra, the modern Corfu, was a colony of Corinth founded about 700 B.C. In 427 B.C. during the Peloponnesian War Corinth released some Corcyrean prisoners on the understanding that they were to win over Corcyra from Athens to the support of Corinth. They did secure the support of the oligarchic party there.

² Philip Morris, "The Treatment of the Negro in the Photoplay," *Social Work and Social Progress*, 316, 86, 296.

TWENTY-SECOND DISCOURSE : ON PEACE

should be taken. But there is this important difference—that the orators consider definite cases; for example, whether it is of advantage for the Athenians to make war on the Peloponnesians, for the Corcyraeans to go to the help of the Corinthians,¹ for Philip to support the Thebans in the war against the Phocians,² or for Alexander to cross over into Asia. Then too, in all these deliberations the following sort of question is apt to crop up: Is it right to go to war with those who have not provoked a war by some wrongful act? if a wrong has been done by those against whom you propose to wage war, how serious is this wrong which has been done?

But philosophers look at events from a distance and examine into what their character is in the abstract; for it is much better to have already deliberated about everything a long time in advance and since they have already reached a decision, to be able, when the moment for any action has come, with full knowledge either to handle the situation themselves or to give advice to the others,³ and not to be caught off their guard, as it were, and so be in a state of confusion and obliged to resort to improvising measures concerning situations of which they have no knowledge. For whenever the orator-politicians have to consider any question, since they know nothing more than anybody else and have not considered the matter before, in a sense they both deliberate themselves and give advice to the others at one and the same time. The philosophers, on the other hand, know in advance about the course to be adopted and have deliberated

³ That is, to the men of action, the generals, or to the citizens.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

μένοι τυγχάνουσιν· ὥστε ἂν τις αὐτοὺς παρακαλῇ συμβούλους τῶν πόλεων ἢ τῶν ἔθνων ἢ τῶν βασιλέων, κρείττον ἔξουσι καὶ ἀσφαλέστερον ἀποφαίνεσθαι· οὐ τὸ ἐπιὸν αὐτοῖς, οὐδὲ νῦν μὲν ταῦτα, πάλιν δὲ τάναντία, δι’ ὄργὴν ἢ φιλονικίαν ἢ χρήμασι πληγέντες, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τρυτάνης, ἔφη τις, οἶμαι, τῶν ῥῆτόρων αὐτῶν, κατὰ τὸ λῆμμα ἀεὶ ρέποντες. λέγω δὲ οὐ ψέγων ῥῆτορικὴν οὐδὲ ῥῆτορας τοὺς ἀγαθούς, ἀλλὰ τοὺς φαύλους καὶ τοὺς προσποιουμένους τὸ πρᾶγμα.

TWENTY-SECOND DISCOURSE : ON PEACE

upon it long beforehand. Consequently, if they are called in to advise cities, nations, or kings, they are in a better and safer position to set forth, not just what occurs to them, nor one thing at one moment and the opposite at the next, influenced by anger, contentiousness, or bribery, acting just as the tongue of a balance does, as I believe some one of the orator-politicians themselves said, ever tipping according to what is received.¹ And I say this, not to criticize the art of oratory, or the good orators, but the poor ones and those who falsely claim that profession as their own.

¹ Cf. Demosthenes, *On the Crown* 298: "tipping toward what is received as the tongue of a balance does"—*ώσπερ ἀντράπτανη ρέπων πρὸς τὸ λῆμμα*. *λῆμμα* more than hints at a bribe.



THE TWENTY-THIRD DISCOURSE: THAT THE WISE MAN IS FORTUNATE AND HAPPY¹

This is one of the twelve discourses that are in the form of a dialogue between Dio, the teacher, and one of his pupils, reported directly. It would appear to reproduce an actual teaching experience of Dio's in which he sets forth the Stoic doctrine that only the wise man is happy.

The line of thought is as follows: Homer and Euripides have said that man is unfortunate and unhappy; but just the opposite is true, or rather, partially true. For each man has a fortune or guiding spirit; and if this fortune or guiding spirit is good, then the man is good-fortuned (*i.e.*, fortunate) and happy. But if the man has a bad fortune or guiding spirit, then the man is bad-fortuned (*i.e.* unfortunate) and unhappy. But if the guiding spirit is good in the sense that it gives good fortune, it is also good as meaning 'just and useful and sensible'—which is a *non sequitur*—and since it apparently gives its own qualities to the man who has it, this man is at the same time also just and useful and sensible, in other words, wise. The good *δαίμων*, to use the Greek word, being good in both senses, gives both happiness and wisdom. The two are inseparable.

Then the pupil raises the question as to whether any guiding spirit can be bad, since all are divine; and Dio admits that he has merely been accepting the popular belief without his own, in assuming that all the guiding spirits are good. He really means that all the guiding spirits are good. If a man listens to his good and wise guiding spirit, he gets at one and the same time both happiness and wisdom; if he does not, he is both unhappy and a fool. Therefore, only the wise man is happy.

¹ The word *δαίμων* means guiding or guardian spirit, genius, or the lot or fortune which that genius was believed to give a man. Therefore, *εὐδαίμων* means primarily 'blessed with a good guiding spirit or genius.' Then, since the good genius was believed to give good fortune, the word came to mean fortunate; and since the fortunate man should be happy, the word came also to mean happy. Often all three meanings are suggested by the word.

23. ΟΤΙ ΕΥΔΑΙΜΩΝ Ο ΣΟΦΟΣ

Δ. Πότερον δοκεῖ σοι εἶναι ἀνθρωπος εὐδαιμων,
εἰ δὲ μή, γεγονέναι ἢ ἔσεσθαι, ἢ ἀδύνατον ἥγη
τὸ τοιοῦτον περὶ ἀνθρώπου, ὥσπερ εἴ τις ἀθάνατον
ἀνθρωπον λέγοι εἶναι; ἵσως γὰρ ἀν τὴν αὐτὴν
ἔχοις δόξαν Ὁμήρῳ καὶ ἄλλοις συχνοῖς τῶν
ποιητῶν.

Καὶ ποῦ ἀποφαίνεται περὶ τούτου Ὅμηρος;

Δ. "Οπου πεποίηκε τὸν Δία λέγοντα αὐτόν,
οὐκ ἄλλον τινὰ τῶν θεῶν, ὡς οὐδέν φησιν ὁζυρό-
τερον εἶναι ἀνδρὸς ἀπάντων τῶν ζώων,

ὅσσα τε γαῖαν ἔπι πνείει τε καὶ ἔρπει.

οὐ δοκεῖ σοι τὴν ὁζὺν ἀντικρυς κακοδαιμονίαν
τινὰ λέγειν;

"Εμοιγε.

2 Δ. "Ἐτερος δὲ ποιητὴς οὐκ ἴδια οὕτως, ἀλλὰ
κοινῇ πρὸς θέατρον ἀγωνιζόμενος εἰσηγεῖται

τὸν φύντα θρηνεῖν εἰς ὅσ' ἔρχεται κακά,
τὸν δ' αὖ θανόντα καὶ πόνων πεπαυμένον

χαίροντας καὶ συνηδομένους οἴεται δεῖν ἐκπέμπειν.

¹ Homer, *Iliad* 17. 477.

² Euripides, *Alcestis* 452 (Nauck). Herodotus (5. 4) says that . . . ir . . . tribe, did lament when a child was born and rejoice when a man died.

THE TWENTY-THIRD DISCOURSE: THAT THE WISE MAN IS FOR- TUNATE AND HAPPY

Dio. Do you believe man is happy, and if not, that he has been or will be; or do you hold that such a thing as this is impossible to predicate of man, just as if a person were to say that man is immortal? For it is, perhaps, possible that you hold the same view as Homer and a good many others of our poets.

Interlocutor. And where does Homer express his view on this question?

Dio. Where he has represented Zeus himself, and not some other one of the gods, as saying that none of all living creatures is more miserable than man,

Of all that breathe and move upon the earth.¹

Do you not think that by misery he means expressly some great unhappiness?

Int. I do.

Dio. And another poet, not speaking of any particular man, but expressing a general sentiment to the audience in a contest of tragedies, proposes that we should

That man bewail who's born, and all life's ills
confronts,

But him who's dead and free from all his toils²
he thinks we should "with joy and gladness speed
from out the house."

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

"Εστι ταῦτα.

Δ. Οὕκουν ὄρθως παρήνεσεν. εἰ γὰρ ἅπαξ δεῖ¹ κλαίειν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους διὰ τὴν ἀτυχίαν, καὶ γενομένους προσήκει θρηνεῖν τῶν ἐσομένων αὐτοῖς κακῶν ἔνεκεν, καὶ τελευτῆσαντας, ὅτι πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ πεπόνθασι, καὶ ζῶντας,² ὅτι 3 εἰσὶν ἐν κακοῖς. ὥστε ὥρα ἂν εἴη κατὰ τὸν ποιητὴν μηδέποτε παύσασθαι ὁδυρομένους πολὺ μᾶλλον τῶν ἀηδόνων. ἐκεῖναι μὲν γὰρ τοῦ ἥρος λέγονται θρηνεῖν τὸν *"Ιτυν"* τοὺς δὲ ἀνθρώπους εἴκὸς ἦν θρηνεῖν καὶ θέρους καὶ χειμῶνος. πόσῳ δὲ βέλτιον τοὺς γενομένους ἐᾶν εὐθὺς ἀπολέσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν κακῶν, ἀλλὰ μὴ σπαργάνοις ἐνειλοῦντας καὶ λούοντας³ καὶ τιθηνουμένους τοσαύτην ἐπιμέλειαν ποιεῖσθαι ὅπως ἄθλιοι ἔσονται· ἔχθρων γάρ, οὐ φίλων οὐδὲ κηδομένων τὸ τοιοῦτο· καὶ 4 νὴ Δία αὐτοὺς πρώτους ἀπαλλάττειν τοῦ βίου; κινδυνεύουσι γὰρ κατὰ τὸν λόγον τοῦτον μόνοι φρόνιμοι γενέσθαι οἱ γενόμενοι ἐν Κόλχοις ἐκ τῶν τοῦ δράκοντος ὁδόντων, οὓς ἔσπειρεν Ἰάσων. οὗτοι γὰρ, ὅτε πρῶτον ἤσθοντο γεγονότες, εὐθὺς ἀλλήλους ἀνήρουν, ἕως οὐδένα ἔλιπον, βοηθοῦντες

¹ δεῖ Geel: ἔδει. ² ζῶντας Casaubon: πάντας.

³ λούοντας Selden: λύοντας.

¹ Itys, son of Tereus and Procne, was killed by his mother and his flesh served to his father Tereus because the father had been unfaithful and married Procne's sister Philomela. On learning what flesh he was eating, Tereus pursued the women with an axe. Then Procne was turned into a nightingale, Philomela into a swallow, and Tereus into a hoopoe.

² Jason went to Colchis, a country at the east end of the Euxine or Black Sea, to get the golden fleece. He was promised it if he would plow a field with two fire-breathing,

TWENTY-THIRD DISCOURSE : WISE MAN

Int. That is so.

Dio. Well, that was not sound advice he gave ; for if we ought to weep once for mankind because of their misfortune, then it is fitting that we should both bewail their lot when they are born, because of all the evils that are in store for them, and when they die, because they have had experience of many terrible sufferings, and likewise while they live, because they are in the midst of evils. Consequently there would never be a fitting time, according to the poet, for men to cease lamenting—much more truly than for the nightingales. For while those creatures are said to mourn for Itys¹ in the springtime only—yet in the case of human beings it stands to reason that *they* should mourn both summer and winter. But how much better it would be to let them perish at once of their ills as soon as they are born, instead of wrapping them up in swaddling clothes and bathing them and nursing them and giving them so much care, simply in order that they may be wretched—for such solicitude would befit enemies, not friends or those who care for them—or, better still, to remove their own selves from life in the first place! For it is very likely, according to this line of reasoning, that the only sensible people to be born were those born in Colchis from the dragon's teeth which Jason sowed.² For these people, just as soon as they understood that they were born, forthwith proceeded to make away with one another until they left not one, helping one

brazen-footed oxen and sow in it the dragon teeth that had not been used by Cadmus at Thebes. From these teeth sprang armed men, who, when Jason threw a stone into their midst, fought until they had killed one another.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

ἀλλήλοις δῆλον ὅτι καὶ διὰ φιλίαν τοῦτο πράττοντες,
οὐ δι’ ἔχθραν.

5 'Αλλὰ οὐτός γε ὁ ποιητὴς ληρεῖν ἔμοιγε φαίνεται.
τὸ δὲ τοῦ Ὁμήρου ταράττει με, ὅτι οὕτω σοφὸς
ῶν¹ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ταύτην ἀπεφήνατο τὴν
γνώμην.

Δ. Καὶ τί ἄτοπον εἴρηκεν; οὐ γάρ ὡς ἄπαντες
οἱ ἀνθρωποι ἀθλιοί εἰσί φησιν, ἀλλ’ ὅτι οὐθέν
ἐστι ζῷον ἀνθρώπου ἀθλιώτερον τοῦ γε² ἀθλίου,
ῶσπερ ἀμέλει καὶ ἡμεῖς φαῦμεν ἄν. ἵσως γάρ τοι
καὶ μόνος τῶν ἄλλων ὁ ἀνθρωπὸς κακοδαίμων
ἐστίν, ὕσπερ καὶ εὐδαίμων· ἐπεὶ τοι καὶ μόνος
ἄφρων, ὕσπερ καὶ φρόνιμος. οὕτε γὰρ ἀδικος
οὔτε ἀκόλαστος εἴη ἂν ἵππος ἢ σῦς ἢ λέων, ὕσπερ
οὐδὲ ἀμουσος οὐδὲ ἀγράμματος.

6 'Αλλὰ καλῶς μοι δοκεῖς διωρθῶσθαι τὸ τοῦ
Ὁμήρου, καὶ ἀποκρίνομαι³ ὅτι ἡγοῦμαι ἀνθρωπον
εὐδαίμονα εἶναι.

Δ. Ἄρ⁴ οὖν ὁ δαίμων⁴ ἀγαθός ἐστι, τοῦτον
εὐδαίμονα εἶναι φῆσ, οὐ δὲ μοχθηρός,⁵ κακοδαί-
μονα;

"Εγωγε.

Δ. Δαίμονα δὲ ἄλλως ἀγαθὸν λέγεις;

¹ ὡν added by Arним. ² γε Casaubon: δὲ.

³ ἀποκρίνομαι Arnim: ἀποκρίνασθαι.

⁴ ἀρ⁴ οὖν ὁ δαίμων Emperorius: ἀρ⁴ ὁ εὐδαίμων M.

⁵ οὐ δὲ Emperorius: οὐδὲ M.

¹ Φῆγες.

² Τοις τοις τοις . . . man's δαίμων may be good or bad is called
the popular one in § 9. It is somewhat like the view which Dio
takes for granted in Discourse i. 42 and makes Diogenes explicitly

TWENTY-THIRD DISCOURSE: WISE MAN

another, evidently, and doing this through friendship, not through hatred.

Int. Well, for my part, I think that what this poet¹ says is nonsense. But Homer's statement disturbs me because, wise though he was, he expressed that view about mankind.

Dio. And what absurdity is there in it? He does not say that all men without exception are wretched, but that there is no creature more wretched than man when he is wretched, just as we too undoubtedly should say; for, mark you, man is perhaps the only unfortunate creature of them all, just as he is the only fortunate one; for, you see, man alone is said to be 'senseless,' just as man alone is said to be 'sensible.' It is clear that a horse cannot be either unjust or dissolute, nor can a pig or a lion, just as it cannot be uncultured or illiterate.

Int. Well, I think you have made an excellent correction of Homer's statement, and I reply that I believe man is fortunate.

Dio. Then when a man's fortune or guardian spirit is good, you maintain that the man is fortunate, but when it is bad, that he is unfortunate, do you? ²

Int. I do.

Dio. And do you speak of a guardian spirit as good in a different sense?

state in *Discourse* iv. 80, that each man's mind (*νοῦς*) is his *δαίμων* and may be good or bad. The philosophical view stated in § 9, 111 D, is that the *δαίμων* of every man is good. f. See Posidonius as quoted by Galen in *De Placitis Hippocratis et Platonis* 5. 6, page 469 and Zeller 3. 1. 318 ff. In *Discourse* xxi. Dio regards the *δαιμόνες*, not as spirits or minds ruling men from within, but as men such as popular leaders, kings, or tyrants, or generals who rule other people and direct their destinies.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

"Η¹ πῶς γε;

Δ. "Ωσπερ ἄνθρωπον, ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον θεόν· ὃ τοὺς θεούς, εἴπερ νομίζεις ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι, οὐ δικαίους νομίζεις καὶ φρονίμους καὶ σώφρονας καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρετὰς ἔχοντας, ἀλλὰ ἀδίκους καὶ ἀνοήτους καὶ ἀκολάστους;

Οὐδαμῶς ἔγωγε.

Δ. Οὐκοῦν καὶ δαίμονα, εἴπερ τινὰ ἀγαθὸν ἥγη, δῆλον ὡς δίκαιου ἥγη καὶ χρήσιμου καὶ φρόνιμου;

Πῶς γὰρ οὖ;

Δ. Ἡ γὰρ ὅν κακόν τινα νομίζεις, πονηρὸν οἵει τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι καὶ ἀδικον καὶ ἀνόητον;

Ἄναγκη πάντως.

7 Δ. Τί δαί; οὐ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἔκαστον κατὰ τὸν αὐτοῦ δαίμονα βιοῦν, ὃποῖος ἂν γέρη ποτε, ἀλλὰ καθ' ἔτερον;

Οὐδαμῶς καθ' ἔτερον.

Δ. Οὐκοῦν τὸν τυχόντα ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος ἥγη δικαίως ζῆν καὶ φρονίμως καὶ σωφρόνως; τοιοῦτον γὰρ ὁμολογεῖς εἶναι τὸν δαίμονα αὐτοῦ.

Πάνυ γε.

Δ. Τὸν δὲ μοχθηροῦ δαίμονος πονηρῶς καὶ ἀφρόνως καὶ ἀνοήτως καὶ ἀκολάστως;

Φαίνεται ταῦτα συμβαίνειν ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων νῦν.

Δ. Ἄρα ὅστις ἄνθρωπος νοῦν ἔχων ἐστὶ καὶ δίκαιος καὶ σώφρων, οὗτος εὐδαίμων ἐστὶν ἀγαθῷ

¹ ὃ added by Reiske.

TWENTY-THIRD DISCOURSE : WISE MAN

Int. What do you mean?

Dio. In the sense in which a man is good and, still more, a god; or if you do think that the gods are good, do you think that they are not just and sensible and self-controlled and in possession of all the other virtues, but unjust and senseless and intemperate?

Int. I certainly do not.

Dio. Then in the case of a guardian spirit also, if you really consider any to be good, is it not clear that you consider it just and useful and sensible?

Int. Why, of course.

Dio. Pray, when you think that any person is bad, do you believe that he is at the same time evil and unjust and senseless?

Int. Most assuredly so.

Dio. Well, then, do you not think that each man lives under the direction of his own guiding spirit, of whatever character it may be, and is not directed by a different one?

Int. Certainly not directed by that of a different one.

Dio. Then do you believe that the man to whom Fortune has given a good guardian spirit lives justly and prudently and temperately? For this is the character that you agree his spirit has.

Int. Certainly.

Dio. And that the man to whom Fortune has given the bad guardian spirit lives wickedly and senselessly and foolishly and intemperately?

Int. That appears to follow from what we have just said.

Dio. Then when a man is in possession of intelligence and is just and temperate, is this man fortunate because he is attended by a good spirit;

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

δαίμονι συνών· ὅστις δὲ ἀσελγής καὶ ἄφρων καὶ πανοῦργος, ἀνάγκη κακοδαίμονα φάσκειν ἐκεῖνον κακῷ δαίμονι συνέζευγμένον καὶ λατρεύοντα;

³Αληθές.

8 Δ. Σοφὸν δὲ ἄλλον τινὰ καλεῖς ἢ τὸν φρόνιμον ἀνθρωπὸν καὶ δίκαιον καὶ ὅσιον καὶ ἀνδρεῖον, φαῦλον δὲ τὸν ἄδικον καὶ ἀνόσιον καὶ δειλόν;

Φῆμι.

Δ. Μὴ τοίνυν ἔτι θαύμαζε τῶν λεγόντων, ὅτι μόνον καὶ πάντα φασὶ τὸν σοφὸν εὐδαιμόνια εἶναι, τῶν δὲ φαύλων οὐδένα ὅντινα οὐ καικοδαιμόνια· ἐπειδή γε καὶ σοὶ ταῦτα δοκεῖ.

9 Τὰ μὲν ἄλλα δοκεῖς μοι οὐ πιρὰ δόξαν διειλέχθαι· ὅπως δὲ χρὴ δαιμόνιον τι πονηρὸν ἡγεῖσθαι καὶ ἄδικον καὶ ἀνόητον, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν. ἄλλως τε οὐ πρὸς ὑμῶν τῶν φιλοσόφων ἐστίν, εἴπερ θεῖον τὸ δαιμόνιον ἡγεῖσθε, τοιοῦτον ὑπολαμβάνειν.

Δ. Ἄλλ'³ ἔγὼ νῦν οὐ κατὰ τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ δόξαν διείλεγμαι τὰ πολλά, πλήν γε αὐτὸ τοῦτο, ὅτι μοι δοκεῖ πᾶς καὶ μόνος εὐδαιμῶν ὁ σοφός· τὰ δὲ ἄλλα κατὰ τὴν τῶν πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὅπως 10 μὴ δοκῶ βιάζεσθαι αὐτούς. ἐπεὶ φέρε, εἰ οὖν¹ ἡγεῖσθε τὸ δαιμόνιον θεῖον καὶ ἀγαθὸν καὶ μηδενὶ κακοῦ μηδενὸς αἴτιον, πῶς φατε γίγνεσθαι κακοδαιμόνια ἀνθρωπὸν; ἢ ὅταν μὴ προσέχωσι μηδὲ πείθωνται τῷ δαιμονίῳ ἀγαθῷ ὅντι; ὥσπερ εἰ νομίζοιμεν² τοὺς ἱατροὺς ἀπαντας ἀγαθοὺς

¹ οὖν Cohoon: οὐχ.

² νομίζοιμεν Reiske: νομίζεις.

TWENTY-THIRD DISCOURSE : WISE MAN

but when a man is dissolute and foolish and wicked, must we maintain that he is unfortunate because he is yoked to a bad spirit and serves it?

Int. True.

Dio. And do you describe as wise anyone except the man who is sensible and just and holy and brave, and as a fool him who is unjust and unholy and cowardly?

Int. I do.

Dio. Then you should no longer be surprised when people say that they hold the wise man alone and without exception to be fortunate or happy, whereas of fools there is none that is not unfortunate or unhappy; you should agree to this inasmuch as you also seem to hold that view.

Int. What you have said so far I think has been quite reasonable; but how are we to consider any spirit to be wicked and unjust and senseless, I am unable to say; and besides, it is not like you philosophers, if you really hold that the guiding spirit is divine, to assume any such thing.

Dio. Well, just now I have not been expressing my own view for the most part except in this one matter—that I believe every wise man is fortunate and happy and he alone; but in everything else I have accepted the views of the majority of men, that I may not seem to be forcing my own views on them. For just consider: If you really believe that the guiding spirit is divine and good and the author of no evil to anyone, how do you explain a man's becoming unfortunate, that is, unhappy? Or does that happen when he does not heed or obey his guiding spirit, this being good? It is just as if we should think that all physicians are good in the matters of

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

εἶναι τὰ τῆς τέχνης καὶ μηδένα αὐτῶν πονηρὸν ἰατρὸν μηδὲ βλαβερόν, τῶν δὲ καμνόντων κακῶς τινας πράττοντας βλέποιμεν¹ καὶ βλαπτομένους ἐν ταῖς νόσοις δῆλον ὅτι τούτους ἀν φαῖμεν μὴ ἔθελειν τὰ προσταττόμενα ποιεῖν, τοὺς δὲ πειθομένους ἀνάγκη καλῶς ἀπαλλάττειν· καὶ ὁ τι ἄν γίγνοιτο² οὐκ ἄν θαυμάζοι τις.³

Οὕτως⁴ ἔχει.

11 Δ. Πότερον οὖν δοκοῦσί σοι οἱ⁵ ἐγκρατεῖς ὄντως⁶ καὶ σώφρονες καὶ νοῦν ἔχοντες, οὗτοι ἀπειθεῖν ἄν τοῖς ἰατροῖς τοῖς ἐμπείροις καὶ τὰ συμφέροντα προστάτουσιν, ἢ τούναντίον οἱ ἀνόητοι καὶ ἀκόλαστοι;

Δῆλον ὅτι οἱ ἀκόλαστοι.

Δ. Τί δέ; τῷ δαιμονὶ χρηστῷ ὄντι πείθεσθαι καὶ ζῆν, ἐκεῖνον πότερον ἡγῆ τῶν σωφρόνων εἶναι καὶ νοῦν ἔχοντων ἢ τῶν ποιηρῶν καὶ ἀνοήτων;

Τῶν σωφρόνων.

12 Δ. Τὸ δέ γε μὴ πείθεσθαι μηδὲ προσέχειν ἀλλ’ ἐναντίως τῷ θείῳ τε καὶ δαιμονίῳ πράττειν, τῶν κακῶν καὶ ἀγνωμόνων;

Πῶς δ’ ἄν ἄλλως λέγοιμεν;

Δ. Εἶναι δὲ τοὺς πειθομένους τῷ δαιμονίῳ τοιούτῳ ὄντι εὐδαιμονας, τοὺς δὲ ἀπειθοῦντας κακοδαιμονας;

Ἀνάγκη.

¹ βλέποιμεν Reiske: βλέπομεν.

² ὅ τι ἄν (Capps) γίγνοιτο Cohoon: τι ἄν γίγνεσθαι.

³ οὐκ ἄν θαυμάζοι τις Capps, οὐκ ἄν θαυμάζοιμεν, Reiske: θαυμάζειν.

TWENTY-THIRD DISCOURSE : WISE MAN

their profession and that none of them is a bad physician or harmful, but yet should see some of their patients doing poorly and suffering harm in their illnesses; evidently we should say that they refuse to obey orders and that such patients as do obey cannot but come through well; and nothing that should happen to them would surprise anyone.

Int. That is right.

Dio. Do you think, therefore, that the really self-controlled and sober and sensible patients are those who would disobey their physicians when these are skilled and prescribe the treatment that is good for them, or, on the contrary, the senseless and uncontrolled?

Int. Evidently the uncontrolled.

Dio. Then again, do you hold that to obey the guardian spirit when it is good, and to live in conformity with its direction, is a mark of those who are temperate and sensible or of those who are wicked and senseless?

Int. Of those who are temperate.

Dio. And that to refuse to obey and give heed and to act contrary to that which is divine and from the guardian spirit is a mark of the bad and foolish?

Int. How could we say anything else?

Dio. And that those who obey the guiding spirit, since it is of this character, are 'fortunate and happy,' and that those who disobey are 'unfortunate and unhappy?'

Int. Necessarily so.

⁴ οὐτως ἔχει Reiske: οὐτως ἔχειν.

⁵ οἱ added by Geel.

⁶ οὐτως Cohoon: εἰναι, which Geel deletes.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

Δ. Οὐκοῦν κἀνταῦθα συμβαίνει τὸν μὲν σοφὸν
καὶ φρόνιμον εὐδαιμόνα εἶναι πάντα, τὸν δὲ φαῦλοι
κακοδαιμόνα, οὐχ ὡς τοῦ δαιμονίου κακοῦ ὅντος,
ἀλλ’ ὡς αὐτὸν οὐ προσέχοντα¹ ἐκείνῳ χρηστῷ
ὄντι.

¹ προσέχοντα Reiske : προσχόντα.

TWENTY-THIRD DISCOURSE: WISE MAN

Dio. Therefore, here also it turns out that the wise and sensible man is 'fortunate and happy' in every case, but that the worthless man is 'unfortunate and unhappy,' not because his guardian spirit is bad, but because, although it is good, he does not heed it.



THE TWENTY-FOURTH DIS- COURSE: ON HAPPINESS

This Discourse, like the fourteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth, begins by saying that the majority of men act wrongly in respect to something and then proceeds to set them right. This same admonishing attitude is found also in Discourse 13, 16-28, where Dio tells of the beginning of his 'preaching' activity His reason von Arnim believes that all the last of course, belong to the period

The great majority of men, says Dio, select their occupation in life without first considering the important question of what the life of man should be, and what is the him, the ideal toward which he should strive. . . . who knows what this highest good is and subordinates everything else to it can gain true success and happiness.

24. ΠΕΡΙ ΕΥΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑΣ

Οἱ πολλοὶ ἄνθρωποι καθόλου μὲν οὐδὲν πεφροντίκασιν ὅποίους χρὴ εἶναι οὐδὲ ὁ τι βέλτιστον ἀνθρώπῳ ἐστίν, οὐδὲ ἔνεκα χρὴ πάντα τἄλλα πράττειν, ίδιᾳ δὲ ἐσπουδάκασιν οἱ μὲν ἵππεύειν, οἱ δὲ στρατηγεῖν, οἱ δὲ περὶ ἀγωνίαιν, οἱ δὲ περὶ μουσικήν, ἄλλοι περὶ γεωργίαν, ἄλλοι δύνασθαι λέγειν. ἥμπινα δὲ χρείαν αὐτοῖς ἔχει τούτων ἔκαστον ἢ τί τὸ ὅφελος ἐξ αὐτοῦ γίγνοιτ² ἄν, οὐκ ἵσασιν
2 οὐδὲ ζητοῦσιν. τοιγαροῦν ἵππεῖς μὲν ἀγαθοὶ γίγνονται τινες, οἱ ἄν φιλοπονῶσιν αὐτὸν καὶ¹ ἐκμελετῶσι, καὶ παλαιῖσαι ἄλλοι ἄλλων ἱκανώτεροι καὶ πυκτεῦσαι καὶ δραμεῖν καὶ τἄλλα ἀγωνίσασθαι, καὶ τοῦ σπόρου μὴ διαμαρτεῖν, καὶ πλέοντες μὴ διαφθεῖραι τὴν ναῦν, καὶ τὰ κατὰ μουσικήν τινες ἐπίστανται βέλτιον ἑτέρων ἀγαθὸν δὲ ἄνδρα καὶ φρόνιμον, καὶ αὐτὸν τοῦτο εἰδότα ὅστις ἐστὶν ὁ χρηστὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ νοῦν ἔχων, οὐδένα τούτων ἐστιν εὑρέν.

3 Αὐτίκα περὶ τὸ λέγειν πάντως² ἐσπουδάκασι

¹ φιλοπονῶσιν αὐτὸν καὶ Emperorius: φιλοπονῶσι καὶ UB, φιλοπονῶσιν αὐτοὶ M.

² πάντως Geel: πάντες.

¹ See Horace, *Odes* 1. 1. for a similar reference to the different interests and occupations of men.

² The same three types of oratory, the forensic, the deliberative, and the epideictic, are mentioned by Aristotle in his

THE TWENTY-FOURTH DISCOURSE: ON HAPPINESS

THE majority of men have not as a rule concerned themselves at all with the question of what kind of men they ought to be, nor of what is ideally man's best good, to the attainment of which he should direct all his other activities; but, each in accordance with his taste, they have devoted themselves, some to horsemanship, some to military commands, some to athletic competitions, others to music, or farming, or expertness in oratory.¹ But what practical utility each of these pursuits has for themselves, or what possible advantage may accrue from it, they do not know or even try to ascertain. The consequence is that while some become good horsemen—in case they work hard at that and train diligently—and some become more efficient in wrestling than others, or in boxing, or running, or in other contests, or in avoiding crop failures, or in sailing the seas without wrecking their ships, and in knowledge of music some surpass others; yet the good and prudent man, one who can answer the all-important question, 'What man is he who is virtuous and intelligent?' cannot be found among them all.

Take oratory,² for instance. There are many well-

Rhetoric 1. 3. 3. Plato (*Euthydemus* 305 b) used the same expression 'plead in courts of law.'

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

πολλοὶ τῶν ἐλευθέρων, καὶ φιλοτίμων εἶναι δοκούντων, οἱ μὲν ὥστε ἐν δικαστηρίοις ἀγωνίζεσθαι, καὶ πρὸς δῆμον λέγοντες, διὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἵσχυειν πλέον τῶν ἄλλων καὶ πράττειν ὅ τι ἀν αὐτοὶ θέλωσιν, οἱ δὲ τῆς δόξης ἔνεκα τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ πράγματος, ὅπως δεινοὶ νομίζωνται. τινὲς δὲ αὐτῆς φασι τῆς ἐμπειρίας ἐπιθυμεῖν, καὶ τούτων οἱ μὲν λέγοντες, οἱ δὲ συγγράφοντες μόνον, οὓς ἔφη τις τῶν πρότερον μεθόρια εἶναι τῶν φιλοσόφων καὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν. ὅτι δὲ συμφέρει πράττουσιν ἡ πρὸς ὅ τι ἡ δόξα αὐτοῖς ὠφέλιμος ἡ τί τῆς ἐμπειρίας ταύτης ὁφελος, οὐ σκοποῦσιν.

4 Ἐγὼ δέ φημι πάντα τὰλλα δίχα τῆς τοιαύτης ἐπιμελείας καὶ ζητήσεως ὀλίγου ἄξια εἶναι, τῷ δὲ ἐκεῖνο ἐννοήσαντι καὶ ξυνέντι, τούτῳ καὶ τὸ λέγειν καὶ τὸ στρατηγεῖν καὶ ὅ τι ἀν ἄλλο ποιῆ, ξυμφέρον τε εἶναι καὶ ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ γίγνεσθαι. ἐπεὶ τό γε ἐπαινεῖσθαι καθ' ἑαυτὸν ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων ἀνοήτων, οἷοίπερ εἰσὶν οἱ πολλοί, ἡ τὸ δύνασθαι ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις ἡ τὸ ἡδέως ζῆν οὐδὲν ἀν διαφέροι πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν τοῦ ψέγεσθαι καὶ μηδὲν ἵσχυειν καὶ ἐπιπόνως ζῆν.

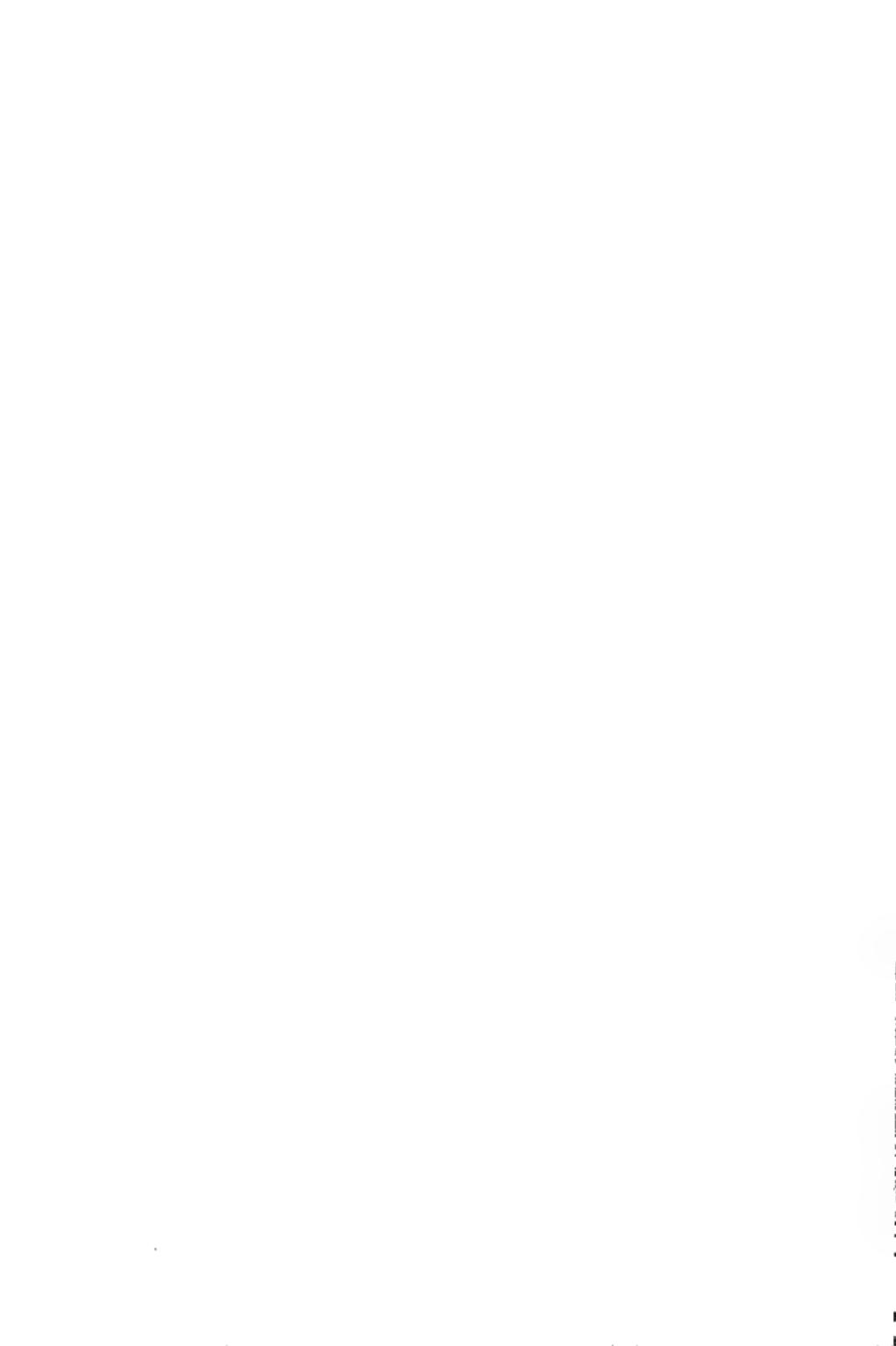
¹ Plato (*op. cit.* 305 c) speaks of one such man and credits Prodicus with the statement that these men occupy the border between philosophy and politics. Isocrates would be an example of such a man.

TWENTY-FOURTH DISCOURSE : HAPPINESS

born men and, in public estimation, ambitious, who are whole-heartedly interested in it, some that they may plead in courts of law or address the people in the assembly in order to have greater influence than their rivals and have things their own way in politics, while the aim of others is the glory to be won thereby, that they may enjoy the reputation of eloquence; but there are men who say they desire the mere skill derived from experience, some of these being indeed speakers, but others only writers, of whom a certain man of former times said they occupied the borderland between philosophy and politics.¹ But what their activity profits them, or to what end the glory is of use to them, or in what respect this experience is worth their while, all this they fail to consider.

But as for me, I claim that, without this knowledge of which I speak and the quest for it, all the other things are little worth; but that for the man who has reflected upon that important point and has come to understand it, then practicing eloquence, exercising military command, or any other activity that may occupy him, is to his advantage and is directed toward a good. For the truth is that, for and of itself, receiving the approbation of senseless persons, which is just what the majority are, or having influence with men of that kind, or leading a pleasant life, will not, so far as happiness is concerned, be one whit better than being censured by them, or having no influence, or leading a laborious life.²

² See Plato, *Crito* 47a-c as to the foolishness of being guided by the opinion of the many.



THE TWENTY-FIFTH DISCOURSE: ON THE GUIDING (OR GUARDIAN) SPIRIT

This Discourse, like the twenty-first, twenty-third, and twenty-sixth, is one of the twelve Discourses which are in the form of a dialogue reported directly and are believed to belong to the period of Dio's exile, although in this case after the first few exchanges Dio does all the speaking. He introduces and illustrates the apparently original view, a suggestion for which he may have been influenced by the philosopher Crates (c. 40 b., that the 'guiding spirit' (*δαλμων*) is not identical with the man himself, but is some other man who controls him and determines his destiny. One man may even control a great number of men, such as are found in a city, a race, or an empire, and be the cause of their faring well or ill. In this case he is their *δαλμων*.

Even though Dio does not in this Discourse keep his promise given at the outset, to tell about the view of the philosophers that only the wise man is happy, yet the Discourse appears to be complete in the form in which we have it.

25. ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΔΑΙΜΟΝΟΣ

Φασὶ τὸν φιλοσόφους λέγειν ὡς ἄρα εὐδαιμων
εἴη μόνος ὁ σοφός.

Δ. Λέγουσι γάρ.

*Ἄρ, οὖν ἀληθῆ σοι δοκοῦσι λέγειν;

Δ. *Ἐμοιγε.

Τί οὖν οὐχὶ κάμοὶ ἔφρασας τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν;

Δ. Ἐὰν ἐμοὶ σὺ πρῶτον εἴπης ὅ τι νομίζεις τὸν
δαιμόνα εἶναι.

Ἐγὼ μὲν τὸ κρατοῦν ἔκαστον καὶ καθ' ὃν
ζῆται τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἔκαστος, ὅμοίως μὲν ἐλεύθερος,
ὅμοίως δὲ δοῦλος, καὶ πλούσιος καὶ πένης καὶ
βασιλεὺς καὶ ἰδιώτης, καὶ πράττει ὅσα ἂν πράττῃ.

Δ. Τοῦτο δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ νομίζεις εἶναι τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ,
τὸ κρατοῦν ἔκαστον, ὁ δαιμόνα καλεῖς, ἢ ἔξω τι¹
οὗ, ἄρχον τε² καὶ κύριον τοῦ ἀνθρώπου;

¹ ἔξω τι Capps: ἔξωθεν. ² ἄρχον τε Reiske: ἄρχοντα.

1 The Stoic view. The Academy held practically the same view. Cf. Plato, *Alcibiades* 134a: "Then, unless a man is self-controlled and good, it is not possible for him to be wise"—οὐκ ἄρα οἶόν τε, ἐὰν μή τις σώφρων καὶ ἀγαθὸς ἦ, εὐδαιμόνα εἶναι, and Xenocrates as reported by Aristotle, *Topica* 2. 6, 112 a. 37: "Xenocrates says that it is the man who has a good soul who is happy"—Ξενοκράτης φησὶν εὐδαιμόνα εἶναι τὸν τὴν ψυχὴν ἔχοντα σπουδαῖαν; and see Discourse 23. 8, where Dio speaking as a Stoic says that the wise man is sensible, just, holy, and brave.

For the meaning of 'happy' see p. 301, n. 1.

THE TWENTY-FIFTH DISCOURSE: ON
THE GUIDING (OR GUARDIAN)
SPIRIT

Interlocutor. People say the philosophers maintain that really only the wise man can be happy.¹

Dio. Yes, that is what they maintain.

Int. Well, do you think they speak the truth?

Dio. I do.

Int. Then why have you never stated their views to me?

Dio. I will, if you tell me first what you think the guiding spirit is.

Int. For my part, I believe that it is that which controls each individual and under whose direction each human being lives, alike whether he be a free man or a slave, whether he be rich or poor, a king or a plain citizen, and no matter what his business in life is.

Dio. And do you think that this principle is within the man himself, this thing which controls the individual, which we call the guiding spirit,² or that, while being a power outside of the man, it yet rules him and is master of him?

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

"Εγωγε.

2 Δ. Ἄρα γε ἄνθρωπον ἔτερον; ἔστι γάρ που ἄνθρωπος, ὁ μέν τυνος ἐνὸς κρατῶν, ὁ δὲ πολλῶν, καὶ ἄγων ὅπῃ τε καὶ ὅπως αὐτὸς βούλεται ἥτοι πειθοῖ ἢ βίᾳ ἢ καὶ ἀμφοτέροις. λέγω δὲ οὐδὲν ἄγνωστον, ἀλλὰ τούς τε δημαγωγούς, οὓς πάντα πείθονται αἱ πόλεις καὶ ὅπως ἂν ἐκεῖνοι¹ ἔξηγῶνται καὶ συμβουλεύωσιν, οὕτω πράττουσιν, ἐάν τε πολεμεῖν συμβουλεύωσιν ἐάν τε εἰρήνην ἄγειν ἐάν τε τείχη οἰκοδομεῖσθαι ἐάν τε τριήρεις κατασκευάζεσθαι ἐάν τε θυσίας θύειν ἐάν τε ἐκβάλλειν τινὰς αὐτῶν ἢ χρήματα ἀφαιρεῖσθαι ἢ καὶ ἀποσφάττειν· καὶ τοὺς βασιλέας καὶ τοὺς τυράννους, δομοίως δὲ καὶ τοὺς δεσπότας τῶν οἰκετῶν, ὅσοι ἀργύριον καταβαλόντες ἢ ἀλλῷ τῷ τρόπῳ
 3 κέκτηνται τινα· ὡς ἂν εἴτε Λυκοῦργόν τε Λακεδαιμονίων δαίμονα καλοῦς—ἐκείνου γάρ κελεύσαντος ἔτι νῦν μαστιγοῦνται Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ θυραυλοῦσι καὶ γυμνητεύουσι καὶ ἀλλὰ πολλὰ καὶ χαλεπὰ δόξαντα ἂν ἔτεροις ἀνέχονται—καὶ Πεισίστρατον Ἀθηναίων τῶν² πρότερον. οἶσθα γάρ δήπου ὅτι Πεισιστράτου προστατοῦντος³ καὶ ἄρχοντος εἰς μὲν τὴν πόλιν οὐ κατήεσαν ὁ δῆμος, ἐν δὲ τῇ χώρᾳ διατρίβοντες γεωργοὶ ἐγίγνοντο· καὶ τὴν Ἀττικήν, πρότερον ψιλήν καὶ ἄδενδρον οὖσαν, ἐλαίαις κατεφύτευσαν, Πεισιστράτου προστάξαντος· καὶ τἄλλα ὅπως ἐκεῖνος ἐβούλετο, οὕτως ἐπραττον.

4 Ὅστερον δὲ ἵσως ἄλλους τε φαίη τις ἂν καὶ

¹ ἐκεῖνοι Morel: ἐκείνοις. ² τῶν added by Reiske.

³ προστατοῦντος Meineke: προστάττοντος.

TWENTY-FIFTH DISCOURSE : ON SPIRIT

Int. The latter is my belief.

Dio. Do you mean a different person? For I suppose it is a person who in one case controls one particular man, and in another case many men, one who leads them where and how he himself wishes, by using either persuasion, or force, or both.¹ And I am saying nothing that is unknown, but refer to the popular leaders whom the cities obey in everything and do exactly as those men direct and advise, whether they advise them to go to war, or to remain at peace, or to build fortifications, or to construct triremes, or to offer sacrifices, or to banish some of their number, or to confiscate their property, or even to cut their throats; and I refer also to both kings and tyrants, and likewise to all masters of servants, who whether by paying down money for a person or by some other means have got anybody into their possession. It is just as if you should call Lycurgus a guiding spirit of the Spartans—for at his command even now the Spartans are scourged and sleep in the open and go lightly clad and endure many other things that would seem hardships to other peoples—and Peisistratus the guiding spirit of the ancient Athenians. For you know, I presume, that when Peisistratus was leader and ruler, the people did not come down to the city, but stayed on the land and became farmers, and that Attica, which was formerly bare and treeless, they planted with olive trees by the order of Peisistratus,² and in everything else they did exactly as he wished.

And, later on, one might perhaps say that not only

¹ Nearly the same view is expressed in Discourse 3. 6-7.

² Cf. Discourse 7. 107.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

Θεμιστοκλέα καὶ Περικλέα γενέσθαι· οὐ γὰρ ἀνήκοος δῆπου τυγχάνεις περὶ τοῦ ἀνδροῦ, τὸν μέν, ὅτι ναυμαχεῖν Ἀθηναίους ἡνάγκασε πεζούς πρότερον ὄντας καὶ τὴν χώραν καὶ τὴν πόλιν προεμένους τοῖς βαρβάροις καὶ θεῶν ἱερὰ καὶ τάφους προγόνων ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶ ποιήσασθαι πάντα τὰ σφέτερα πράγματα, καὶ ὕστερον τὸν Πειραιᾶ τειχίσαι πλειόγων ἥ ἐνενήκοντα σταδίων καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα προσέταξεν αὐτοῖς, ὃν τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐπραττον ἐφ' ὅσον ἔκεινος παρῆν, τὰ δὲ καὶ φυγόντος αὐτοῦ καὶ τελευτήσαντος. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἄλλους τινὰς ἵσως φήσεις δαίμονας γεγονέναι τῶν Ἀθηναίων, οἷον Ἀλκιβιάδην τὸν Κλεινίου καὶ Νικίαν καὶ Κλέωνα καὶ Ὑπέρβολον, τοὺς μέν τινας ἐπιεικεῖς τυχόν, τοὺς δὲ πάνυ πονηρούς τε καὶ χαλεπούς.

5 Ἐπι δὲ Κῦρον Περσῶν ἐπὶ χρόνον τινὰ¹ δαίμονα γενέσθαι, δαίμονα² βασιλικόν τινα καὶ ἐλευθέριον, ὃς δουλεύοντας αὐτοὺς Μήδοις πρότερον εἰς ἐλευθερίαν ἀφείλετο καὶ πάντων ἀπέφηνε δεσπότας τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν. ἔπι δὲ Καμβύσην

¹ ἐπὶ χρόνον τινὰ Cohoon : ἀπὸ χρόνου τινὸς.

² δαίμονα Cohoon : *καὶ*, which Reiske deleted.

¹ That is, Themistocles when Xerxes invaded Greece in 480 B.C.

² The chief seaport of Athens and about 5 miles away. A thick wall was built all round the Munychian peninsula in which the Peiraeus was. This wall kept close to the sea and was continued along the north side of the harbour of Cantharus. The entrances to the harbour of the Peiraeus and to the two small havens of Muncybia and Zea on the east side of the peninsula were fortified with moles. 90 stades are approxi-

TWENTY-FIFTH DISCOURSE : ON SPIRIT

others but Themistocles and Pericles also became guiding spirits; for I take it that you have heard about these two men, how the one¹ compelled the Athenians, who had been foot soldiers before, to fight on the sea, to give up their country and their city to the barbarians, as well as the temples of their gods and the tombs of their ancestors, and stake all their fortunes on their fleet, and afterwards to fortify the Peiraeus² with walls of more than ninety stades in length and enjoined upon them by his orders other measures of the same kind, some of which they continued to carry out only as long as he was present, and others even when he was in banishment and after his death.³ Yes, and at a still later time certain other men, you may perhaps say, have become guiding spirits of the Athenians, for example, Alcibiades the son of Cleinias, and Nicias,⁴ Cleon,⁵ and Hyperbolus⁶—some few of them honourable men perhaps, but the rest utterly wicked and cruel.

Then again you might say that Cyrus⁷ became for a time a guiding spirit of the Persians, a spirit kingly indeed and liberal in character, who, when the Persians were enslaved to the Medes, gave them liberty and made them masters of all the peoples of Asia; and you

mately 10·34 miles. Thucydides 2. 13. 7 gives the distance as 60 stades.

¹ Nothing is said about the achievements of Pericles.

² Athenian general and leader of the aristocratic party who opposed Alcibiades and thoroughly disapproved of the Sicilian expedition.

³ Originally a tanner. Opposed Pericles and for six years of the Peloponnesian war led the party opposed to peace.

⁴ Athenian demagogue of servile origin who came into prominence during the Peloponnesian war.

⁵ Cyrus the Great, founder of the Persian empire.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

καὶ Δαρεῖον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς ἐφεξῆς, τὸν μὲν Καμβύσην τά τε χρήματα αὐτῶν ἀναλίσκοντα καὶ αὐτοὺς κατατοξεύοντα καὶ στρατείας προστάσοντα χαλεπὰς καὶ συνεχεῖς καὶ μηδέποτε ἔωντα οἴκοι μένειν· τὸν δὲ Δαρεῖον χρήματα μὲν ὡς οἱόν τε πολλὰ συναγαγόντα καὶ τῇ χώρᾳ γενόμενον αἴτιον ὅπως ἐργασθήσεται, πολέμους δὲ καὶ τοῦτον ἀναγκάζοντα πολεμεῖν χαλεποὺς καὶ ἐπικινδύνους, καθάπερ, οἶμαι, τὸν πρὸς Σκύθας καὶ τὸν πρὸς Ἀθηναίους.

6 Οὕτω δὲ καὶ Νουμᾶν μὲν Ῥωμαῖοι τυχὸν ἀν λέγοιεν αὐτῶν¹ δαίμονα, Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ "Αννωνα καὶ Ἀννίβαν, Μακεδόνες δὲ Ἀλέξανδρον ἢ Φίλιππον, ὃς Μακεδόνας ταπεινοὺς ὅντας καὶ ἀσθενεῖς, καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ παραχωρήσαντος Ὁλυνθίοις τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἵσχυροὺς ἐποίησε καὶ πολεμικοὺς καὶ μικροῦ δεῖν ἀπάστης Εὐρώπης ἐγκρατεῖς· Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὑστερον μετ' ἐκεῖνον εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐξαγαγὼν ἄμα μὲν πλουσιωτάτους ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀπέδειξεν, ἄμα δὲ πενιχροτάτους, καὶ ἄμα μὲν ἵσχυρούς, ἄμα δὲ ἀσθενεῖς, φυγάδας τε καὶ βασιλέας τοὺς αὐτούς, Αἴγυνπτόν τε² καὶ Βαβυλῶνα καὶ Σοῦσα καὶ Ἐκβάτανα προσθεῖς,

¹ αὐτῶν Emperius: αὐτῶν M, αὐτὸν UB.

² τε Cohoon, μὲν Reiske: δὲ.

¹ Second of that name and son of Cyrus the Great, reigned 529-522 B.C., conquered Egypt, but was unsuccessful against the Ammonians and the Ethiopians.

² Defeated at Marathon by the Athenians.

TWENTY-FIFTH DISCOURSE : ON SPIRIT

might go on to name Cambyses and Darius and their successors : Cambyses,¹ who squandered their money, shot his subjects down, sent them on toilsome campaigns without intermission, and never allowed them to stay at home ; and Darius, who amassed as much money as possible, caused the land to be cultivated, and like the other forced them to wage difficult and dangerous wars, for instance, as I recall, the one against the Scythians and the one against the Athenians.²

And thus also by the Romans Numa³ might perhaps be named as their guiding spirit, and Hanno and Hannibal by the Carthaginians, and Alexander, by the Macedonians, or else Philip, who, when the Macedonians were inglorious and weak, and his father had ceded part of his kingdom to the Olynthians, made them strong and warlike and masters of nearly all Europe.⁴ Then afterwards Alexander, succeeding Philip, led them over into Asia and made them at once the wealthiest of all peoples and at the same time the poorest, at once strong and at the same time weak, the same men being both exiles and kings, because while he annexed Egypt, Babylon, Sousa,⁵ and Ecbatana,⁶ he deprived them of Aegae,⁷

³ Numa Pompilius, second king of Rome, revered by the Romans as the author of their whole religious worship.

⁴ A great exaggeration. By defeating the Greeks at Chaeronea in 338 B.C. he did put an end to the independence of Greece. His father was Amyntas II., who reigned 390-369 B.C.

⁵ Called Shusan in the Old Testament. It was the winter residence of the Persian kings.

⁶ Capital of the Median kingdom and afterwards the summer residence of the Persian and Parthian kings.

⁷ Also called Edessa. It was the ancient capital of Macedonia and the burial-place of the Macedonian kings.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

Αἰγὰς δὲ καὶ Πέλλαν καὶ Δῖον ἀφελόμενος.
 7 Καρχηδονίους δὲ "Αννων μὲν ἀντὶ Τυρίων ἐποίσε
 Λίβυας, καὶ Λιβύην κατοικεῖν ἀντὶ Φοινίκης, καὶ
 χρήματα πολλὰ κεκτῆσθαι καὶ συχνὰ ἐμπόρια
 καὶ λιμένας καὶ τριήρεις, καὶ πολλῆς μὲν γῆς,
 πολλῆς δὲ θαλάττης ἄρχειν. Ἀννίβας δὲ πρὸς
 τῇ Λιβύῃ καὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας αὐτῆς κρατῆσαι
 παρέσχεν ἑπτακαΐδεκα ἔτη· αὖθις δὲ αἴτιος
 ἐγένετο ἀναστάτους γενέσθαι καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴν
 μεταβαλεῖν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων, πολλοὺς πρότερον τῶν
 Ῥωμαίων ἀπολέσας, καὶ μικρὸν ἀποσχῶν αὐτὴν
 ἔλειν τὴν Ῥώμην, οὐ βουληθεὶς δέ, ὡς φασι, διὰ
 τοὺς οἴκου ἀντιστασιώτας.

Καίτοι¹ τοῦτον ἵσως οὕτε Καρχηδονίοις οὕτε
 Ῥωμαίοις ἀγαθὸν δαίμονα προσήκει² αὐτῶν³
 8 καλέσαι. Νουμᾶς δὲ τὴν Ῥώμην παραλαβὼν
 μικρὰν καὶ ἄδοξον ἔτι, ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ χώρᾳ δὲ
 ὥκισμένην⁴ καὶ σύγκλυδας καὶ πονηροὺς ἔχουσαν
 τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας, ἔτι δὲ τοῖς προσχώροις πᾶσιν
 ἔχθροὺς καὶ πένητας καὶ ἀγρίους καὶ ἐπικινδύνως
 ζῶντας διὰ⁵ τὴν Ῥωμύλου χαλεπότητα, τὴν
 τε γῆν⁶ αὐτοὺς βεβαίως ἔχειν ἐποίησε καὶ

¹ καίτοι Carpss: καὶ.

² προσήκει Reiske: προσήκειν.

³ αὐτῶν Emperius: αὐτῶν.

⁴ δὲ ὥκισμένην Emperius: διώκισμένην.

⁵ διὰ added by Emperius.

⁶ χαλεπότητα, τὴν τε γῆν Emperius: χαλεπωτάτην τε γῆν M,
 χαλεπωτάτην γῆν UB.

TWENTY-FIFTH DISCOURSE : ON SPIRIT

Pella,¹ and Dium.² And the Carthagians Hanno³ made Libyans instead of Tyrians, forced them to live in Libya instead of Phoenicia, caused them to possess great wealth, many trading-centres, harbours, and warships, and to rule over a vast land and a vast sea. Then in addition to Libya, Hannibal enabled them to control Italy itself for a period of seventeen years ; but after that he was responsible for their being driven from their homes and for their capital itself being moved at the order of the Romans,⁴ after he had previously slain great numbers of these Romans and come within a little of taking Rome itself, although, men say, he had no desire to do this, on account of his political opponents at home.

And yet Hannibal, perhaps, neither the Carthaginians nor the Romans could fittingly claim as their *good* guiding spirit. But Numa took over Rome when it was still small, unknown to fame, and situated in a land owned by others, when it had as its inhabitants an unprincipled rabble, who were, besides, at enmity with all their neighbours, were both poverty-stricken and savage, and lived a precarious existence because of the harshness of Romulus' rule ; caused them to hold their land in security and to be

¹ Made capital of the Macedonian kingdom by Philip. There Alexander the Great was born.

² A city in Macedonia at the foot of Mt. Olympus on the north side. About two miles from it was the grave of Orpheus. See also vol. I., p. 50, n. 2.

³ Son of Hamilcar I. and probably identical with the African explorer of that name and with the general surnamed Sabellus. His date is uncertain.

⁴ Not quite accurate. In the year 149 B.C. the Romans bade the Carthaginians dismantle their city and move at least ten miles from the sea. They preferred to fight, and their city was destroyed. Capps suggests *καταβαλεῖν* (being destroyed).

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

φίλους εἶναι τοῖς περιοίκοις καὶ νόμους καὶ θεοὺς
καὶ πολιτείαν κατεστήσατο, καὶ πάσης αἴτιος
ὑπῆρξε τῆς λεγομένης ὕστερον εὐδαιμονίας.

9 "Ἔχοιμι δ' ἂν καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων λέγειν
πόλεων καὶ γενῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον
εὗ τε καὶ κακῶς πραξάντων διά τινας ἄρχοντας
αὐτῶν γενομένους καὶ προστάτας· ἀλλὰ ἵκανῶς
οἵμαι τὴν ἔμαυτοῦ διάνοιαν ἐνδεδεῖχθαι. εἰ δὴ
τούτους καλεῖς δαιμονας ὅντως¹ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῖς,
καὶ δι' οὓς ἔκαστοι βέλτιον ἡ χεῖρον ἔπραξαν,
ἡδέως ἂν ἀκούοιμι.

¹ ὅντως Cohoon: ὡς.

TWENTY-FIFTH DISCOURSE : ON SPIRIT

on terms of friendship with their neighbours, and gave them a code of laws, and gods to worship, and a political constitution, thus becoming the author of all their subsequent felicity of which all men speak.

I could go on to speak in the same way about the other cities, and races, and populations which have fared well or ill on account of certain men who were their rulers and leaders. However, my own opinion has, I think, been made sufficiently clear. So, if you do call those I have mentioned in very truth guiding spirits of those who were under their sway and who severally fared better or worse on account of them, I should be glad to hear what you have to say.

THE TWENTY-SIXTH DISCOURSE: ON DELIBERATION

This is another of the *τοιούτα* directly and probably all written by *Διός φίλος*; this one Dio considers with his interlocutor the meaning of 'deliberation' (*τὸ βουλεύεσθαι*). It does not mean making a blind guess as to the truth of something. There must be some knowledge, however imperfect, upon which to base the conjecture. If, on the other hand, there is complete knowledge of the thing, no room is left for conjecture, that is, deliberation. Then Dio attempts to show that one cannot deliberate about the future because it is non-existent. One must have something real about which to deliberate. This position rather surprises us, because deliberation is most naturally about some course of action in the future. After this Dio, unconsciously perhaps, shifts his position and maintains that to deliberate is to form correct conclusions about a matter from a full knowledge of all the factors involved. However, one must admit that it was Dio's companion, rather than Dio himself, who was so certain that deliberation comes into play only in those cases where there is some knowledge, but not enough to enable one to decide with certainty. Dio concludes by exhorting men earnestly to strive to gain full knowledge about the most important things in life in order that their deliberations in these matters may lead to the right conclusions.

Sonny (*Ad Dionem Chrysostomum Analecta*, p. 196 f.) expresses the view that this Discourse and the pseudo-Platonic *Sisyphus*, which apparently was written about 350 B.C., were drawn from a common source, while Dümmler (*Academica*, p. 194) would go further and name Antisthenes' paradox *ὅ τι οὐκ ἔστι ζητεῖν* (seeking that which is not) as this common source. On the other hand, Hirzel (*Der Dialog*. II., p. 105), von Arnim, as one may infer from his note on §§ 4-5, and Wegehaupt (*De Dione Chrysostomo Xenophontis Sectatore*, p. 65 ff.) maintain that Dio used the *Sisyphus* directly. Wegehaupt points to so many parallels between this Discourse and the *Sisyphus* as to make his theory appear very reasonable. If this theory is not correct, then Dio and the author of the *Sisyphus* followed their common source very closely.

26. ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΒΟΥΛΕΥΕΣΘΑΙ

Πάλαι, καθήμενος καὶ ὑμῶν ἀκούων, ὅτε πολλὰς ὥρας¹ διετρίβετε παρά τινι τῶν πολιτικῶν βουλευόμενοι περὶ τινῶν πραγμάτων, σκοπῶ παρ’ ἐμαυτῷ καὶ ἀναζητῶ τί ἐστι τοῦτο ὃ φατε βουλεύεσθαι ἢ αὐτὸ δὴ τὸ βουλεύεσθαι.² Ἐμα γὰρ περὶ τούτου τις βουλεύεται τοῦ πράγματος ὃ οἶδε τε καὶ ἐπίσταται;

Οὐ δοκεῖ μοι περὶ ὧν τις οἶδε, περὶ τούτων βουλεύεσθαι, ἀλλὰ ἦδη εἰδέναι.

Τί δαί; ἂ οὐκ οἶδεν οὐδὲ³ ἐπίσταται, περὶ τούτων ὕσπερ διαμαντευόμενος καὶ ἀναζητῶν γνῶναι ἂ οὐκ οἶδεν;

Οὐ δοκεῖ μοι οὐδὲ οὗτος δύνασθαι βουλεύεσθαι περὶ τούτων περὶ ὧν οὐδεμίαν ἐπιστήμην ἔχει.

2 Ἀρα οὖν μὴ τοιόνδε τι ἢ τὸ βουλεύεσθαι, ὡστε τινὰ μὲν εἰδέναι, τινὰ δὲ ἀγνοεῖν, καὶ τοῦτο ἢ περὶ οὐ βουλεύονται ἄνθρωποι; ἵνα δὲ μᾶλλον τῷ λόγῳ παρακολουθήσωμεν, δι’ εἰκόνος τινὸς ἐπιδείξομεν αὐτό. ὑποτιθέμεθα γὰρ εἰδέναι μὲν

¹ πολλὰς ὥρας Cobet: πολλαῖς ὥραις.

² The phrase ἢ αὐτὸ δὴ τὸ βουλεύεσθαι was deleted by Emperius, followed by Arnim and Budé, as being a repetition of the preceding. It may well be, however, Dio's own closer definition of the problem: δὲ το U, ἢ omitted by M.

³ ἂ after οὐδὲ deleted by Reiske.

¹ The *Sisyphus* has the same sub-title,

THE TWENTY-SIXTH DISCOURSE: ON DELIBERATION¹

Dio. For a long time, as I sat and listened to you men when you spent many hours at the home of one of our public men in deliberating about certain affairs of state, I have been considering by myself and examining the meaning of that which you call deliberation, or what deliberation in the abstract is.² Does a person really deliberate about a matter which he knows and understands?

Interlocutor. I do not think that when a person knows certain things, he deliberates about them, but that he already knows them.

Dio. Well then, when there are things he does not know or understand, is it about these that he deliberates, casting about as it were like a diviner, and thus seeking to find out what he does not know?³

Int. It does not seem to me that this man, either, can deliberate about things when he has no knowledge about them.

Dio. Then can deliberation be something like this—that when men know some things but do not know other things, this is the subject about which they deliberate?⁴ And in order that we may follow the argument better, we shall make it clear by an illustration. For instance, we assume that we know

² Cf. *Sisyphus* 387 c.

³ *Ibid.* 387 d.

⁴ *Ibid.* 388 a.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

ἡμᾶς Χαρικλέα καὶ Χαρίξενον, ὅπου δὲ οἰκοῦσιν,
ἀγνοεῖν, στοχάζεσθαι δὲ περὶ τῆς οἰκίας αὐτοῦ·
 3 μὴ ἄρα τοῦτο ή τὸ βουλεύεσθαι,¹ ὥστε ἔξ ὧν
οἴδαμεν, ἐκ τούτων καὶ περὶ ὧν οὐδέπω ἴσμεν
τεκμαίρεσθαι² ή; καθάπερ οἱ ἀρτιάζοντες ἴσασι
μὲν ὅτι ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἔχουσιν οἱ προκαλεσάμενοι
αὐτοὺς χρῆμα, οὐ μέντοι ὅτι τοσοῦτον,³ ἀλλ’
ἐνίστητε καὶ ἐπέτυχον εἰπεῖν, καὶ οὕτω δὴ κρατή-
σαντες ἀπηλλάγησαν. μὴ ἄρα καὶ τὸ βουλεύεσθαι
τοιοῦτον ή, ὥστε εἰδέναι μέν τι, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα,
ὅσα ἀγνοοῦμεν,⁴ στοχασάμενοι ἐνίστητε αὐτομάτως
ἐπετύχομεν καὶ μετ’ οὐδεμιᾶς ἐπιστήμης;

4 Φέρε γὰρ ἵδωμεν ὅποιόν ἔστι τὸ πρᾶγμα.
τὰ ὄντα καὶ ἔστι καὶ ἐγένετο καὶ ὑφέστηκε, τὰ
δὲ μὴ ὄντα οὔτε ἔστιν⁵ οὔτε ἐγένετο οὔτε ὑφέ-
τηκεν. οὐ δεῖ μὲν οὖν περὶ τῶν ἥδη ὄντων ἔστι
γὰρ καὶ οὐδὲν ὅφελος περὶ τῶν γεγονότων καὶ
ὑφέστηκότων βουλεύεσθαι· τί γὰρ καὶ βουλευ-
σόμεθα περὶ αὐτῶν; ἵνα μὴ γένηται τὰ γεγονότα;
οὐ δύναται μὴ γεγονέναι. ἀλλ’ ἵνα μὴ ή τὰ

¹ The phrase μὴ ἄρα τοῦτο ή τὸ βουλεύεσθαι of the MSS. was deleted by Arnim followed by Budó. ἄρα Emperius: ἄρα.

² ή added by Wegehaupt.

³ Sonny would add ή τοσοῦτον.

⁴ ἀγνοοῦμεν Emperius: ποιοῦμεν.

⁵ ἔστιν Dindorf: ἔστι.

¹ Cf. *Sisypnus* 388c.

² In the game ἀρτιασμός the challenger asked another to guess whether the objects held in his closed hand were odd or even in number. In Aristophanes, *Plutus* 816, where we read στατῆροι δ' οἱ θεράποντες ἀρτιάζομεν χρυσοῖς, the game seems to have been to guess the number of coins, for the denomination of the stater was known—two drachmas. *Ibid.* 1057 the

THE TWENTY-SIXTH DISCOURSE

Charicles and Charixenus, but do not know where they live, and so are making conjectures about their place of residence; is not this deliberation—the drawing of inferences from what we do know about that which we do not yet know?¹ Or, just as people playing at odd and even² know that the challengers have something in their hands but not how much; yet sometimes they do hit upon the right answer and in that way come off victorious.³ May we conclude, then, that deliberation too is like this—that though there is something we do know, yet concerning all the other things which we do not know, we make a guess and sometimes accidentally hit it although without any knowledge?

Now come, let us see what the nature of the thing is:⁴ Things which are in being both are, and have come to be, and exist, while things that are not in being neither are, nor have come into being, nor do they exist. Now we do not need deliberation for things which are already in being; for there is no profit in deliberating about things which have come into being and exist. In fact, what imaginable reason will we have for deliberating about them? In order that things that have come into being may not come into being? It is impossible for them not to have come into being. Well, is it in order that things which are

game proposed was merely guessing the number of teeth the old hag had left.

³ Cf. *Sisyphus* 387 d.

⁴ von Arnim feels that §§ 4–5 do not fit into the context. In the *Sisyphus* 390 d–391 c this part of the exposition does come in more naturally because Socrates has just expressed the view that one man cannot deliberate better than another! is like shooting an arrow at random when aim at.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

ὅντα; πῶς;¹ δυνάμεθα ποιῆσαι μὴ εἶναι οὕτως
ώς ἐγένετο; ἀλλ’ ἵνα μὴ ὑφεστήκῃ; πᾶν τὸ ὅν
ὑπόστασιν ἔχει. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τῶν ὅντων
5 τί ἄν τις καὶ βουλεύοιτο; περὶ τίνων οὖν βουλευό-
μεθα; περὶ τῶν μελλόντων, ὡς ὁ λόγος ὑποδείκνυσι.
τὰ δὲ μέλλοντα οὔτε ἔστιν οὔτε γέγονεν οὔτε
ὑφέστηκεν. περὶ τῶν οὐκ ὅντων οὖν τίς δύναται
βουλεύεσθαι καὶ περὶ τῶν οὐχ ὑφεστώτων; τὸ
γάρ οὐκ ὅν οὐδέν ἔστι. περὶ δὲ τοῦ οὐκ ὅντος
οὐδεὶς δύναται βουλεύεσθαι. οὐδεὶς ἄρα δύναται
βουλεύεσθαι περὶ τῶν μελλόντων. ἡ γάρ βουλὴ
ἐπὶ ὅντι² τινί ἔστιν. τὸ δὲ μέλλον οὐκ ἔστιν. οὐκ
ἄρα οὐδὲ τὸ βουλεύεσθαι περὶ τῶν μελλόντων
δύναιτ³ ἄν εἶναι.

6 Τί οὖν; ὁ ἄμουσος καὶ ὁ ἀνεπιστήμων ἄρμονίας
καὶ μέλους καὶ ρυθμοῦ καὶ τῆς τούτων τάξεως
καὶ κινήσεως δύναιτ³ ἄν καλῶς βουλεύσασθαι περὶ⁴
μουσικῆς καὶ τῶν ἕργων τῶν κατὰ μουσικήν;

Οὐδαμῶς.

Τί δέ; ὁ γεωμετρίας ἄπειρος περὶ σώματος καὶ
μήκους καὶ πλάτους καὶ βάθους βουλευόμενος ἄν
καλῶς βουλεύοιτο;

Οὐδὲ οὗτος.

Τί δέ; ὁ νεώς ἀρχειν οὐκ ἐπιστάμενος περὶ
νεώς ἀρχῆς καὶ ἕργων κυβερνητικῶν ἵκανῶς ἄν
βουλευόμενος βουλεύοιτο;

Οὐδὲ οὗτος.

¹ πῶς; δυνάμεθα Capps: πῶς δυνάμεθα.

² ὅντι added by Capps.

THE TWENTY-SIXTH DISCOURSE

in being may not be? Absurd! Can we prevent their being just as they have come to be? Well, is it in order that they may not exist? Everything which is in being has existence. But about things that are in being why should a person deliberate anyway? About what things, then, do we deliberate? About the future, as the argument suggests. But the future neither is, nor has been, nor exists. Hence, about things that are not and do not exist, who is able to deliberate? For the thing not in being is nothing, and about that which is not no one can deliberate. Hence no one can deliberate about things which are yet to be; for deliberation deals with a thing that is, and that which is yet to be does not exist. Therefore deliberation cannot possibly be about the future either.

Take another case: Would the unmusical person and the one who has no knowledge of harmony, melody, rhythm, and their arrangement and movement be able to deliberate successfully about music and the operations involved in music?¹

Int. Certainly not.

Another point: Would the man who has no knowledge of geometry, in deliberating about a solid body, its length, width, and height, deliberate successfully?²

Int. No, he also would not.

Dio. Then further: Would the man who does not know how to command a ship, in deliberating about the command of a ship and the duties of the captain, deliberate competently?³

Int. No, he would not, either.

¹ Cf. *Sisyphus* 389 c-d. ² *Ibid.* 388 e.

³ *Ibid.* 389 c-d.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

7 "Οστις ἄρα¹ οὐδὲν ἵκανως περὶ οὐδενὸς οὕτε πεπαιδευται οὕτε² οἶδεν, οὗτος οὐδὲ βουλεύσασθαι περὶ τούτου ἵκανός ἐστιν. χρὴ οὖν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι μάλιστα φρονήσεως καὶ παιδείας, ὥν ήμιν ἦ ράδιον περὶ ἀπάντων πραγμάτων βουλεύεσθαι καὶ εἰδέναι τὸ συνοῦσσον ἐκάστη βουλῇ καὶ μὴ διαμαρτάνειν, ἀλλὰ καθάπερ οἱ μουσικοὶ καὶ οἱ γεωμέτραι καὶ οἱ κυβερνῆται περὶ τῶν ἰδίων ἔργων τεχνικῶς³ σκέπτονται καὶ ἅπαντες οἱ περὶ τι δεινοί, καὶ συγεῖναι περὶ αὐτῶν ἵκανοι⁴ εἰσιν, οὕτω δὴ⁵ καὶ ήμεῖς περὶ τῶν ἰδίων ἵκανοι 8 ὠμεν βουλεύεσθαι καὶ λέγειν. ἀποπον γὰρ τοὺς μὲν ἀρτιάζοντας σύνεσιν ἐπιδείκνυσθαι, καὶ ταῦτα εἰκάζοντας καὶ μὴ δρῶντας τοῦτο περὶ οὐ ἀποφαίνονται, τοὺς δὲ περὶ πραγμάτων βουλευομένους μήτε ξύνεσιν μήτε ἐπιστήμην μήτε ἐμπειρίαν ἐπιδείκνυσθαι, καὶ τούτων ἐνίστε τῶν μεγίστων ὅντων, περὶ ὅμονοίας καὶ φιλίας οἰκιῶν καὶ πόλεων καὶ περὶ εἰρήνης καὶ πολέμου καὶ περὶ κατοικισμοῦ καὶ περὶ κατοικίσεως, περὶ τε παιδῶν καὶ περὶ γυναικῶν.

¹ ὅστις ἄρα Wilamowitz : ἄρα ὅστις.

² οὕτε . . . οὕτε Γ. . . . οὐδὲ . . . οὐδὲ.

³ τεχνικῶς or μετ' ; .. ; .. : ἀτεχνῶς.

⁴ ἵκανοι added by Reiske.

⁵ δὴ Emperius : δεῖ M, δὲ UB.

THE TWENTY-SIXTH DISCOURSE

Then a person who has had no competent education and no knowledge whatever about a thing is not competent to deliberate about it, either. Therefore it is necessary to give the greatest attention to prudence and education,¹ in order that it may be easy for us to deliberate about all things whatsoever and to know what is going to suit each deliberation and not to make serious mistakes; but just as musicians, geometricians, and ship-captains consider with professional skill their own particular work, and as all persons who possess skill in any matter are also competent to understand their work, in like manner let us also be competent to deliberate and speak about our own business. For it is absurd that while those playing at odd and even show intelligence, and that too when they are guessing and do not see the thing about which they make a guess, yet those who are deliberating about public matters should display neither intelligence, nor knowledge, nor experience, although these matters are sometimes of the greatest importance, such as concord and friendship of families and states, peace and war, colonization and the organization of colonies, the treatment of children and of wives.²

¹ *Sisyphus* 390 b.

² Herwerden in *Mnem.* XXXVII, p. 321, argues plausibly that the conclusion of this Discourse is missing.



THE TWENTY-SEVENTH DIS-COURSE: A SHORT TALK ON WHAT TAKES PLACE AT A SYMPOSIUM

Dio begins by saying that it is at symposia and at the great national festivals that the characters of men are shown most clearly. Then, after speaking of the varied effects of wine on men according to their characters, he passes on to a description of the different types of men seen at one of the national festivals such as the Isthmian games. The last type mentioned is the philosopher, who finds it just as difficult to get the attention of men as the physician does. The elaboration of this thought, and the comments on the foolishness of men in giving no heed to either their bodies or their souls, take up the second half of the Discourse.

From this brief outline it will be seen that the title is not very suitable. What Dio says about symposia and national festivals is merely to gain attention for his real theme, which is the folly of men in taking no thought of either body or soul until trouble is actually upon them. It is very natural for Dio here, as in other parts of his writings, to refer to bodily infirmities, because he suffered from ill health himself as a result of the hardships incurred in exile.

The simplicity of the ideas expressed and their similarity to those found in the eighth and ninth Discourses, which belong to the period of Dio's exile, make it seem probable that this Discourse also was written in that period.

27. ΔΙΑΤΡΙΒΗ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΣΥΜΠΟΣΙΩΙ

Οι ἄνθρωποι γίγνονται καταφανεῖς ὅποιαν
ἔχουσι διάνοιαν ἔκαστος ἐν ταῖς πανηγύρεσιν
οὐχ ἡττον ἢ ἐν τοῖς συμποσίοις, πλὴν ὅτι ποικιλώ-
τερον τὸ¹ τῶν πανηγύρεων καὶ χρόνου πλείονος.

Οὐκοῦν εἰς τὰ συμπόσια δῆπου οἱ μέν τινες
ἀφικνοῦνται τοῦ πιεῖν ἔνεκεν καὶ οὐθὲν ἄλλο
πράττουσιν, ὥσπερ οἱ διψῶντες τῶν ὀδοιπόρων,
ἐπειδὴν ἔλθωσιν ἐπὶ κρήνην τινά, πίνουσιν ἐπι-
κύψαντες. ἀλλὰ ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ἐμπλησθέντες καὶ τὸ
δίψος ἀποσβέσαντες ἡσυχῇ ἀπαλλάττονται, οὕτε
πράξαντες² οὕτε εἰπόντες ἀτοπον οὐδέν,³ οἱ δὲ
πολλὰ καὶ δυσχερῆ ἐνίστε καὶ λέγουσι καὶ δρῶσιν.

2 οὐ γὰρ ὅμοίως ὑποδέχονται τοὺς δεομένους αὐτῶν
αἱ τε Νύμφαι καὶ δι Λιόνυσσος· ἀλλὰ ἀτε διθύραμβος

¹ τὸ Emperius: τὰ. ² πράξαντες Emperius: κράξαντες.
³ οὐδέν added by Arnim.

1 The *panegyris* was an assembly of the people of a particular district, province, tribe, or nation to worship at a common sanctuary. In addition, there were spectacles, amusements, games, chariot races, political discussions and resolutions, buying and selling, etc. For further details see § 5 of this Discourse, and Discourses eight and nine. In many respects it resembled a modern fair. As illustrations we think first of the Olympian, Pythian, Isthmian, and Nemean games.

2 The *symposium* (a drinking together) was the name given the entertainment which followed a *δεῖπνον* or dinner-party. In it the pleasure of drinking wine was heightened by agreeable conversation, music, dancing, games, philosophical discussion, etc.

THE TWENTY-SEVENTH DISCOURSE: A SHORT TALK ON WHAT TAKES PLACE AT A SYMPOSIUM

THE qualities of mind and character of individual men stand revealed at our national festivals¹ no less than at symposia,² except that at festivals the revelation is more varied and extends over a longer period of time.³

As to symposia, we may assume that some persons attend for the sake of drinking and devote themselves to that, just as thirsty wayfarers when they come to a spring stoop down and drink. Yet travellers, when they have drunk their fill and quenched their thirst, quietly go their way without having done or said anything indecorous, but the others, on the contrary, both say and do many disagreeable things at times. For Dionysus does not welcome his votaries who need him with the same sort of welcome as the Nymphs do theirs;⁴ but since he is of a frenzied nature

³ For the same thought cf. Discourse 8. 6; 30. 33; 32. 53; 33. 14 f.

⁴ In other words, the effects of wine and of water upon those who partake of them are quite different.

Dionysus, the god of wine, was the son of Zeus, the god of thunder and lightning. When Zeus appeared in that character before Semele, the mother of Dionysus, she was consumed by the lightning, but her child was saved. The nymphs, goddesses of lesser rank, were attached to various kinds of places. Dio is here thinking of those who haunted springs, who were called specifically *ναϊάδες*. Cf. Discourse 12. 30 *νάμασι νυμφῶν ποτίμους*, “drinkable rills of nymphs.”

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

Ὥν δὲ Διόνυσος καὶ ὑπὸ κεραυνοῦ καὶ βροντῆς γενόμενος, ὡς φασιν οἱ ποιηταί, τοὺς ἀμαθέστερον χρωμένους ἀτεχνῶς πυρὸς πίμπλησι καὶ τῷ ὅντι πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἐμβροντήτους ἐποίησεν. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν σχεδόν τι μαινόμενοι πολλὰ κακὰ δρῶσιν, ὥσπερ Ὁμηρός φησι τὸν Κένταυρον μεθυσθέντα ἐν τῇ τοῦ Πειρίθου οἰκίᾳ κακὰ ἔργασσασθαι.

3 καὶ ἄλλοι δὲ φύσει ἀδολέσχαι οἷον ἀκροπτῶν τινῶν λαβόμενοι τῶν συμπιτῶν ἀναισθήτους καὶ μικροὺς διατίθεται λόγους· οἱ δὲ ἄδοντι καὶ ἀπίδοντι, σφόδρα ἄμουσοι ὄντες, καὶ σχεδόν τι μᾶλλον λυποῦσι τῶν μαχομένων καὶ λοιδορουμένων. ἕτεροι δὲ αὐστηροὶ καὶ σώφρονες εἶναι λέγοντες ἀποκνιάσουσιν ἀηδίᾳ, μήτε πυτοῦ τὸ μέτριον¹ μήτε

4 λαλιᾶς κοινωνεῖν ἀξιοῦντες. ὃς δέ ἂν γέ τρῆς πρᾶσι ἀνὴρ καὶ τὸν τρόπον ἵκανῶς ἡρμοσμένος, τῶν τε ἄλλων ῥἀδίως ὑπομένει τὴν δυστολίαν καὶ αὐτὸς εὐσχημονεῖ² ὡς οἷόν τε τὸν³ ἀμαθῆ χορὸν εἰς τὸ δέον καθιστὰς ῥυθμῷ τε καὶ μέλει τῷ προσήκοντι, τούς τε οἰκείους λόγους εἰσφέρων καὶ δεξιότητι καὶ πειθοὶ προσαγόμενος τοὺς παρόντας, ὥστε ἐμμελέστερον καὶ φιλικώτερον ξυνεῖναι ἀλλήλοις.

5 Τὰ μὲν δὴ τῶν συμποσίων τοιαῦτα· ἀφικοῦνται δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὰς πανηγύρεις, οἱ μὲν ἱστορίας

¹ μέτριον Geel: μέτρον. ² εὐσχημονεῖ added by Reiske.
³ τὸν added by Cohoon.

¹ See Homer, *Odysssey* 21. 295–298 and Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 12. 219. Peirithoüs, leader of the Lapithae in Thessaly, invited the Centaurs to his wedding feast, when one of them, named Eurytion (Eurytus according to Ovid), became drunk with wine and attacked the bride Hippodameia. Πειρίθοος shortened to Πειρίθους, gen. Πειρίθου.

THE TWENTY-SEVENTH DISCOURSE

and the child of lightning and thunder, as the poets say, he literally fills with fire those who use him in too ignorant a way, and actually makes the majority of them thunderstruck or stupefied. Nay rather, his votaries, being practically crazed, do many evil things, just as Homer says of the Centaur that in a fit of drunkenness he wrought evil in the home of Peirithoüs.¹ And others, too, who are naturally loquacious, feeling that they have got their table-companions for an audience, recite stupid and tedious speeches; while still others sing in tune and out of tune,² although they have no gift whatever for music; and one might almost say that they give more annoyance than those who quarrel and use abusive language. But there is another class of men who claim to be abstemious and temperate, that bore people to death by their disagreeable manner,³ since they will not condescend either to drink moderately or to take part in the general conversation. But the man that is gentle and has a properly ordered character, easily endures the rudeness of the others, and acts like a gentleman himself, trying to the best of his ability to bring the ignorant chorus into a proper demeanour by means of fitting rhythm and melody. And he introduces appropriate topics of conversation and by his tact and persuasiveness attempts to get those present to be more harmonious and friendly in their intercourse with one another.

So much for symposia. But people also attend the national festivals, some just to see the sights

² See Discourse 14. 4 for the same expression.

³ See Demosthenes 21. 153 for the same expression.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

ἔνεκεν τῶν τε ἄλλων θεαμάτων καὶ τῶν ἀγώνων·
καὶ τούτων ὅσοι σφόδρα ἐσπουδακότες περὶ τὸ
πρᾶγμα, διατελοῦσιν οὐθὲν ἄλλο πράττοντες ἐξ
ἔωθινοῦ· πολλοὶ δὲ ὡνια κομίζοντες παντοδαπά,
ἀγοραῖος ὄχλος, οἱ δέ τινες ἑαυτῶν ἐπιδειξόμενοι

6 τέχνας καὶ δημιουργίας, ἄλλοι δὲ σοφίαν τινὰ αὐτῶν¹
ἐκφαίνοντες, πολλοὶ μὲν ποιήματα ἐπιδεικνύντες
τραγῳδίας τε καὶ ἐπῶν, πολλοὶ δὲ καταλογάδην
συγγράμματα, τὸν σχιλῆς ἔνεκεν ἥκουτα καὶ
ῥᾳθυμεῖν βουλόμενον ἐνοχλοῦντες· οὗτοι δὲ μάλιστα
ἐνύκασι τοῖς μινυρίζουσι καὶ ἄδυντον ἐν τοῖς
συμποσίοις, ὃν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἀκούειν ἔστι, καὶ
μὴ θέλῃ τις.

Ἐν τούτοις ὁ δυνάμενος λόγους εἰπεῖν ὠφελίμους
καὶ συμφέροντας καὶ τὴν ὅλην σύνοδον εὔσχη-
μονεστέραν καὶ ἀμείνω παρασχεῖν, οὗτος ὑπὸ
τῆς ταραχῆς καὶ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ἄλλων ἡσυχίαν
ἄγει καὶ τρέπεται καθ' αὐτόν.

7 Πεπόνθασι γάρ οἱ πολλοὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐκ
φιλοσοφίας λόγους ὅπερ, οἶμαι, πρὸς τὰ τῶν
ἰατρῶν φάρμακα. οὕτε γάρ τις ἐκείνοις εὐθὺς
πρόσεισιν οὐδὲ ὀνεῖται πρὸν ἣ περιπεσεῖν φανερῷ
νοσήματι καὶ ἀλγῆσαι τι τοῦ σώματος· οὕτε
τῶν τοιούτων λόγων ἀκούειν ἐθέλουσιν ὡς τὸ
πολύ, ὅτῳ ἂν μὴ λυπηρόν τι ἔχουσιν εχθῆ καὶ τῶν
8 δοκούντων χαλεπῶν. αὐτίκα τὸν εὐτυχοῦντα,
ὅποίαν τινά φασιν οἱ πολλοὶ τὴν εὐτυχίαν, οἷον
χρήματα εἰσδανείζοντα² πολλὰ ἢ χώραν ἵκανην
κεκτημένον καὶ αὐτὸν ὑγιαίνοντα καὶ τέκνων
σωζομένων καὶ γυναικός, καὶ τινα δύναμιν καὶ

¹ αὐτῶν Dindorf: αὐτῶν.

² εἰσδανείζοντα Geel: ἐκ δανείων τὰ.

THE TWENTY-SEVENTH DISCOURSE

and the athletic contests in particular; and all those who take a very great interest in these continue doing nothing else from early dawn. Many too bring in merchandise of all sorts, the tradespeople, that is; and some display their own arts and crafts; while others show off their accomplishments, many of them declaiming poems, both tragedies and epics, and many others prose works, so that they annoy the man who has come for a rest and wishes to have a holiday. And these people seem very much like those who hum tunes and sing songs at the symposia, whom you cannot help hearing even if you do not wish it.

But the man who in the midst of these folk has the ability to speak words edifying and profitable and thus make the whole gathering more decorous and better, because of the general disturbance and the great throng of those of the other sort keeps quiet and withdraws into himself.

For really most men feel towards the words of philosophy exactly as they do, I believe, toward the drugs which physicians administer; that is, no one resorts to them at first, nor buys them until he contracts some unmistakable illness and has pain in some part of his body. And in the same way people are, as a general rule, not willing to listen to the words of the philosopher until some affliction visits them, something which men consider grievous. To give an illustration: the prosperous man—I use the term in the sense in which the majority use it—for instance, a man who derives a large income from his loans, or has a good deal of land, and not only enjoys good health, but has children and a wife living, or a man who has some position of

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

ἀρχὴν ἔχοντα μεγάλην ἄνευ πολέμου καὶ στάσεως
 καὶ τινῶν φανερῶν κινδύνων, οὐκ ἀν εὗροι τις
 ῥᾳδίως προσιόντα τοῖς τοιούτοις οὐδὲ ἀξιοῦντα
 9 κοινωνεῖν τῶν ἐκ φιλοσοφίας λόγων. εἰ δέ
 τῷ ἔνυμβαιή τι πταῖσμα κατὰ τὸν βίον καὶ ¹
 ἦτοι πένης ἐκ πλουσίου γένοιτο ἢ ἀσθενῆς καὶ
 ἀδύνατος ἐκ δυναμένου ἢ ἄλλην τινὰ ἔχων λύπην,
 οἱ δὲ οἰκειότερόν πως διατίθεται πρὸς τὸ πρᾶγμα
 καὶ τρόπον τινὰ ὑπομένουσι τοὺς τῶν φιλοσόφων
 λόγους καὶ πώς φασι δεῖσθαι παραμυθίας. κανὸν
 ἀπολέσας τύχῃ τινὰ ² τῶν οἰκείων, ἢ γυναικαὶ³
 ἢ παῖδα ἢ ἀδελφόν, ἀξιοῦσιν ἀφικνεῖσθαι τὸν
 φιλόσοφον καὶ παρηγορεῖν, ὡς τότε ³ δέον σκοπεῖν
 ὅπως μετρίως φέρῃ τις τὰ γιγνόμενα καὶ δυνήσονται
 10 ἀντέχειν τοῖς λοιποῖς, πρότερον δὲ οὐ. ὥσπερ ⁴
 καὶ περὶ τὸ σῶμα ἔχουσι σχεδὸν οἱ ἀνόρτοι·
 τὸν μὲν ἄλλον χρόνον οὐθὲν αὐτοῖς μέλει ὅπως
 δύνωνται ὑγιαίνειν, ἀλλὰ ⁵ σιτίοις τε καὶ οἴνῳ
 καὶ ἀφροδισίοις καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ διαίτῃ ὡς οἶόν τε
 ἀκολάστως καὶ ἀδεῶς χρῶνται, ἐὰν δ' ⁶ ἄρα
 τις καταλαμβάνῃ κόπος καὶ πυρετὸς ⁷ περὶ τὰς
 τοῦ ἀέρος μεταβολάς, καὶ ⁸ θεραπεύειν σφᾶς
 κελεύονται μεστοὶ ὅντες ἀταξίας πολλῆς καὶ
 νοσημάτων ἰσχυρῶν, οἷον εἰκὸς τοὺς τοιούτους
 καταλαμβάνειν, ὅπως δὲ μηδὲν ἰατροῦ δεήσονται,
 τοῦτο τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐ σκοποῦσιν.

¹ καὶ added by Dindorf. ² τινὰ Emperius : τινὰς.

³ ὡς τότε Reiske : ὡς τὸ M, ὥστε τὸ UB.

⁴ ὥσπερ Emperius : ὡς γάρ.

⁵ The words ἀλλὰ . . . χρῶνται moved here by Casaubon from their position after μεταβολὰς (*infra*) in the MSS.

⁶ δ' added by Casaubon.

⁸ Emperius deleted καὶ.

⁷ πυρετὸς added by Reiske.

THE TWENTY-SEVENTH DISCOURSE

authority and a high office without war, or rebellion, or any open dangers—such a person you would not easily find approaching these philosophers, or caring to listen to the teachings of philosophy. But if some disaster should overtake any one touching his livelihood, and he should become either poor after having been wealthy, or weak and powerless after having been influential, or should meet with some other misfortune, then he becomes much more friendly disposed toward that craft, somehow manages to endure the words of the philosophers, and practically admits that he needs comfort. And if it is his misfortune to lose any of his relatives, either his wife, or a child, or a brother, he asks the philosopher to come and speak words of comfort, as if he thought it were only then necessary to consider how one may endure with resignation what happens and be able to face the future ; before that he does not. It is much the same as the feeling of ignorant persons in regard to their bodies: ordinarily they have no concern whatever about their health, but enjoy foods, wine, and women, and all their other regimen as intemperately and unconcernedly as possible; but if any weariness or fever does unexpectedly seize them owing to the changes in the weather, then they indeed demand to be treated, since their health is greatly disordered and they are suffering from severe illnesses, such as you expect would attack people of this sort. But how to avoid having any need of a physician is a problem which they do not consider at all.¹

¹ In Discourse 8. 6 ff. Diogenes says that physicians have the advantage in being consulted more readily than philosophers are.



THE TWENTY-EIGHTH DIS-COURSE: MELANCOMAS II¹

Dio, accompanied by at least one friend, comes up from the harbour—of Naples presumably—to witness the athletic contests then being held, and has his attention drawn especially to a tall handsome boxer who is training, surrounded by a great crowd of admirers. On asking one of the bystanders who the man is, he learns that it is the boxer Iatrocles, so often the antagonist of Melancomas, who has recently died. This bystander speaks in the highest terms of Melancomas both as a boxer and as a man, and is evidently greatly distressed by his death. Thereupon Dio offers various reflections to comfort him.

von Arnim, chiefly from a study of this Discourse and the following one, which is the funeral oration for Melancomas,

¹ Some of the codices which contain all of Dio's eighty extant Discourses have these Discourses arranged in the order followed in this edition. This has been the common and accepted order, and the Discourses are always referred to by the numbers of this arrangement. But the other complete codices use a different order, which was followed by Photius. von Arnim in *Hermes*, vol. 26, has shown this to be the earlier and preferable order. He introduced it in his edition of Dio, and was followed by De Budé in his.

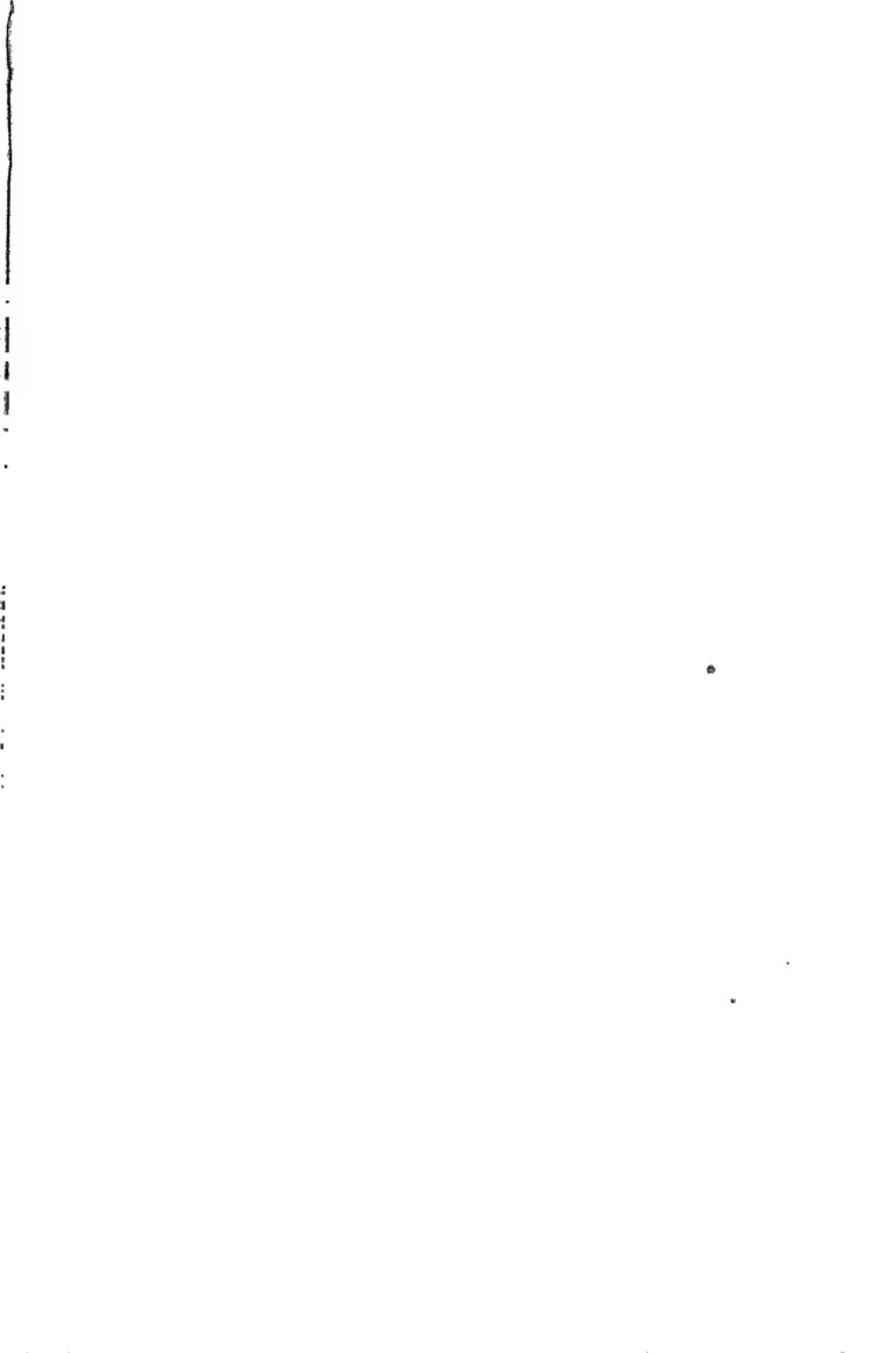
The MSS. U, B, and M, which give the Discourses in the common and accepted order, put Melancomas II, before Melancomas I, so that they appear as Nos. 28 and 29 in the series; but these MSS. show in two ways that this order is not the natural one. The Discourse that would naturally come second is called II; and then the added words, "in its position I," ($\tauῇ τάξει α'$) indicate once more that this natural order has been reversed.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

comes to the conclusion that the occasion of it was the Games in honour of Augustus (*Ludi Augustales*) as held at Naples in the year A.D. 74, when Titus, soon to be emperor and now thirty-three years old—Dio himself would be of about the same age—was either Director of Games (*γυμναστάρχος*) there or Exhibitor of Games (*ἀγωνοθέτης*).

On the other hand, Lemarchand (*Dion de Pruse, Les Oeuvres d'avant l'Exile*, p. 30 ff.) gives various reasons for thinking that Melanomas is a purely imaginary character. He considers it rather remarkable that, apart from one passage in Themistius (i.e. Oration 10, p. 139), who got his information from Dio (see Scharold, *Dio Chrysostomus und Themistius*, Burghausen 1912), there is no other reference in ancient literature to this incomparable athlete and boxer, no inscription that has come to light commemorating any victory of his. He also shows in detail that this Melanomas is the embodiment of all the youthful qualities and virtues for which Dio shows admiration in other Discourses, and that Dio at times, as in the *Euboean Discourse*, describes what is ideal rather than actual. And in Dio's time, he adds, the Romans began to take an interest in athletics, so that outstanding athletes came from Greece and Asia Minor to give exhibitions—note that Melanomas' father is represented as coming from Caria in Asia Minor. Their contests served to recall the glorious past of Greece. Therefore, may not Dio, who was an ardent Hellenist and who looked with disapproval on the cruel gladiatorial exhibitions (see Discourse 31.121), have wished to increase the interest in athletics by creating and describing this ideal athlete, this gentle boxer, who would not think of injuring his opponent by striking him with his fist armed with the terrible *enclavae*? But this gentleness would make little appeal to most men of Dio's time.

As a literary effort the twenty-eighth Discourse is superior to the twenty-ninth, and toward the end the hortatory and preaching element, which is regarded as typical of what Dio wrote during his exile, is somewhat in evidence. It is possible, then, that this Discourse was written considerably later than the following one.



28. ΜΕΛΑΓΚΟΜΑΣ Β, ΤΗΙ ΤΑΞΕΙ Α

’Αναβάντες ἀπὸ τοῦ λιμένος εὐθὺς ἐβιδίζομεν,
οὐψόμενοι τοὺς ἀθλητάς, ὡς ἂν τὴν ὅλην ἐπιδημίαν
πεποιημένοι κατὰ θέαν τοῦ ἀγῶνος. ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸς
τῷ γυμνασίῳ ἦμεν, τοὺς μέν τωντις ἔωρῶμεν ἐν
τῷ δρόμῳ ἔξω τρέχοντας, καὶ κρινγή τῶν παρα-
κελευομένων ἦν, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἄλλως γυμναζομένους.
τούτοις μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἐδόκει προσέχειν· ὅπου δὲ
2 πλεῖστον ὅχλον ἔδοιμεν, ἐκεῖ ἐβιδίζομεν. ὅρῶμεν
οὖν πάνυ πολλοὺς ἔστηκότας πρὸς τῇ ἔξεδρᾳ
τοῦ Ἡρακλέους καὶ ἑτέρους ἀεὶ προσάγοντας,
τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἀπιόντας διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι ἴδειν.
τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον ἐπειρώμεθα ὅρᾶν ὑπερκύπ-
τοντες, καὶ μόλις ἔωρῶμέν του¹ γυμναζομένου
τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἀνατετακότος. ἐπειτα
κατὰ μικρὸν ἐνδοτέρω ἐγενόμεθα. ἦν οὖν νεανίσκος
πάνυ μέγας καὶ καλός, ἔτι δέ, ὡς εἰκός, μεῖζον
αὐτοῦ καὶ κάλλιον ὑπὸ τῆς γυμνασίας τὸ σῶμα
ἐφαίνετο. πάνυ δὲ λαμπρῶς ἐγυμνάζετο καὶ
μετὰ φρονήματος, ὥστε ἀγωνιζομένῳ μᾶλλον
3 ἐώκει. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπαύσατο γυμναζόμενος καὶ
τὸ πλῆθος ἀνεχώρει, κατενοοῦμεν αὐτὸν ἐπιμελέ-

¹ ἔωρῶμέν του Cohoon: ἔωρῶμεν τοῦ.

THE TWENTY-EIGHTH DISCOURSE: MELANCOMAS II

AFTER coming up from the harbour, we strolled over at once to have a look at the athletes, just as if the sole purpose of our trip had been to view the contests. When we got near the gymnasium we saw a number running on the track outside of it, and there was a roar as the crowd cheered them on; and we also saw the athletes who were exercising in other ways. To those, however, we thought it hardly worth while to pay attention; but wherever we saw the biggest crowd, there we would stroll. So we noticed a great number of people standing near the Arcade of Heracles and a stream of others coming up, and some also going away because they could not see. At first we tried to see by looking over other people's shoulders, and with difficulty managed to catch a glimpse of the head of a man who was exercising with his hands up.¹ Then we gradually got in closer. He was a very tall and beautiful young man; and besides, the exercises he was taking made his body seem, quite naturally, still taller and more beautiful. He was giving a most brilliant performance, and in so spirited a way that he seemed more like a man in an actual contest. Then, when he stopped exercising and the crowd began to draw away, we studied him more

¹ He was shadow-boxing.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

στερον. ήν δὲ ὅμοιος τοῖς ἀνδριάσι τοῖς ἀκριβῶς εἰργασμένοις· εἶχε δὲ καὶ τὸ χρῶμα ὅμοιον χαλκῷ κεκραμένω.

4 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπηλλάγη, τῶν παρόντων τινὰ ἡρόμεθα πρεσβύτην ὅστις εἴη. καὶ ὃς σκυθρωπάσας·

Οὗτος μέντοι Ἰατροκλῆς ὁ τοῦ Μελαιγκόμα ἀνταγωνιστὴς καὶ μόνος ἐκείνῳ οὐκ ἀξιῶν παραχωρεῖν, τὸ γοῦν ἔφ' ἔαυτῷ. οὐδὲν μέντοι πλέον ἐποίει· ἡττᾶτο γὰρ ἀεί, ἐνίστε δι' ὅλης τῆς ἡμέρας ἀγωνιστάμενος· ἥδη μέντοι ἀπειρήκει, ὥστε τὸν τελευταῖον τοῦτον ἀγῶνα τὸν ἐν τῇ Νεαπόλει οὐδένα ταχύτερον τούτου ἐνίκησεν. ἀλλὰ νῦν ὅρᾶτε ὅσον φρονεῖ καὶ ἐν ὅσῳ πλήθει γυμνιάζεται. οἷμαι δὲ ἔγωγε καὶ ἐπιχαίρειν αὐτὸν ἐκείνῳ. καὶ εὔκος μέντοι· οὐ γὰρ μόνον τοῦτον τὸν στέφανον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπαντας ἐπίσταται αὐτοῦ ὅντας.

5 Ἡ γάρ, ἔφην, τέθνηκεν ὁ Μελαιγκόμας; ἐπεὶ τό γε ὄνομα καὶ ἡμεῖς ἥδειμεν, αὐτὸν οὐδεπώποτε ἴδοντες.

Οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ γε, εἶπεν, ἀλλὰ τρίτη που ἡμέρα ἔστιν ἀπὸ τῆς ταφῆς.

Τίνι δέ, εἶπον, τούτου διέφερε, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δέ, πότερον μεγέθει ἢ εὐψυχίᾳ;

Ἐκεῖνος, ἔφη, ὡς βέλτιστε, πάντων ἀνθρώπων, οὐχὶ τῶν ἀνταγωνιστῶν μόνον, εὐψυχότατος καὶ μέγιστος ἔφу, ἔτι δὲ κάλλιστος. καὶ εἴ γε ἴδιωτης ἔμεινε καὶ μηδὲν ὅλως ἔπραξε, δι' αὐτό που τὸ κάλλος περιβόητος ἦν· ἐπεὶ καὶ νῦν

¹ Cf. Discourse 12. 2. Dio refers to Sicyonian blending of copper and tin which produced rich brown.

² The prize for boxing at the games then being held.

THE TWENTY-EIGHTH DISCOURSE

closely. He was just like one of the most carefully wrought statues, and also he had a colour like well blended bronze.¹

After he had gone, we asked one of the bystanders, an old man, who he was; and the man said with a frown:

"Why that is Iatrocles, the opponent of Melancomas, the only man who would not give in to him, at least, that is, if he could help it. Still he could not get the better of him, for he was always defeated, sometimes after competing for a whole day. However, Iatrocles had already given up trying, so that in the last contest here in Naples, Melancomas defeated no opponent more quickly than he did Iatrocles. But you see how confident he is now, and how large a crowd he has about him as he takes his exercise. For my part, I really believe that he feels a malicious joy at the other man's misfortune; and naturally enough, for he knows that not only the next crown² but all others are now his own."

"What!" I exclaimed, "Is Melancomas dead?" —for even we knew his name at least, although we had never seen the man himself.

"Yes," he replied, "he died not long ago. I believe this is the second day since he was buried."

"And in what respect," I asked, "was he superior to this man and to the others also? Was it in size, or in courage?"

"That man, sir," he replied, "was more courageous and bigger than any other man in the world, not merely than any of his opponents; and furthermore, he was the most beautiful. And if he had remained an amateur and had not gone in for boxing at all, I believe that he would have become widely known

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

ἐπέστρεφεν ἄπαντας, ὅπότε ἀπίοι που, καὶ τὸν
οὐκ εἰδότας ὅστις ἐστίν. καίτοι οὕτε ἐσθῆτι
ἐκόσμει ἑαυτὸν οὕτε ἀλλῷ τῷ γυγνώσκεσθαι
μᾶλλον ἐπετήδευεν ἢ λανθάνειν· ἀποδυσαμένου
δ' οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις ἄλλον ἐθεῖτο, πολλῶν μὲν
παιδῶν, πολλῶν δὲ ἀνδρῶν γυμναζομένων. εἰωθό-
τος δὲ τοῦ κάλλους εἰς τρυφὴν ἄγειν καὶ τὸν
μετρίως αὐτοῦ μετειληφότας, τοιοῦτος ὡν τὸ
εἶδος ἔτι σωφρονέστερος ἦν· καὶ καταφρονῶν
δὲ τοῦ κάλλους οὐδὲν ἥττον ἐφύλαττεν αὐτὸν ἐν
7 οὕτω χαλεπῷ ἐπιτηδεύματι. πυγμὴν γοῦν ἀγωνι-
ζόμενος οὕτως ὑγιῆς ἦν ὥσπερ τῶν δρομέων
τις, οὕτω δὲ σφόδρα γεγύμναστο καὶ τοσοῦτο
περιῆν τοῖς πόνοις, ὥστε δυνατὸς ἦν καὶ δύο
ἡμέρας ἔξῆς μένειν ἀνατετακὼς τὰς χεῖρας, καὶ
οὐκ ἀν εἶδεν οὐδεὶς ὑφέντα αὐτὸν ἢ ἀναπαυσάμενον,
ὥσπερ εἰώθασιν. πρότερον δὲ ἡνάγκαζε τὸν
ἀνταγωνιστὰς ἀπειπεῖν, οὐ μόνον πρὶν αὐτὸς
πληγῆναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὶν πλῆξαι ἐκείνους· οὐ
γὰρ τὸ παίειν καὶ τιτρώσκεσθαι ἀνδρείαν ἐνόμιζεν,
ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν εἶναι μὴ δυναμένων πονεῖν καὶ
8 ἀπηλλάχθαι βουλομένων· τὸ δὲ ἀνέχεσθαι τοῦ
χρόνου καὶ μήτε τοῦ βάρους τῶν χειρῶν ἥττᾶσθαι
μήτε τοῦ πνεύματος ἐνδεῖ γίγνεσθαι μήτε τῷ
καύματι ἄχθεσθαι, τὸ δὲ εἶναι γενναῖον.

THE TWENTY-EIGHTH DISCOURSE

simply on account of his beauty; for even as it was, he attracted everybody's attention whenever he went anywhere, even that of people who did not know who he was. And yet he did not dress up in fine clothes or in any other way try to attract notice rather than to remain inconspicuous; but when he was stripped, nobody would look at anyone else, although many boys and many men were training.¹ And although beauty is wont to lead to softness, even with those who are only moderately endowed with it, beautiful as he was, he was even more remarkable for his self-control and moderation; and though despising his beauty, he none the less preserved it in spite of his rough profession. At any rate, although boxing was his specialty, he remained as free from marks as any of the runners; and he had trained so rigorously and went so far beyond others in toilsome exercising that he was able to remain for two whole days in succession with his hands up, and nobody could catch him letting them down or taking a rest, as athletes usually do. Then he used to force his opponents to give up, not only before he himself had received a blow but even before he had landed one on them. For he did not consider it courage to strike his opponent or to receive an injury himself, but thought this indicated lack of stamina and a desire to have done with the contest.² But to last out the full time without either being done up by the weight of his arms, or becoming out of breath, or being distressed by the heat—that, he thought, was a splendid achievement.”

¹ Cf. Discourse 29. 3 ff.

² For the contents of §§ 5–7 cf. Discourse 29. 4–8 and Themistius 10. 139. Themistius got this information from Dio.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

Ορθῶς μέντοι, ἔφην ὑπολαμβάνων. καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ οἱ φαυλότατοι τὰ ὅπλα ρίπτουσιν, εὖ¹ εἰδότες ὅτι γυμνοὶ μᾶλλον ἀν τιτρώσκοιτο· οὕτω μᾶλλον ἡττῶνται τοῦ κόπου ἢ τῶν τραυμάτων.

9 Τοιγάρτοι, εἶπεν, ἀφ' οὗπερ ἥρξατο ἀγωνίζεσθαι Πυθοῦ, πρῶτος μὲν ὃν ἵσμεν ἄλειπτος² διεγένετο, πλείστους καὶ μεγίστους στεφάνους ἀνελόμενος καὶ ἀνταγωνιστᾶς οὔτε φαύλοις οὔτε ὀλίγοις χρησάμενος. καὶ τὸν πατέριν, ἐνδοξότατον³ ὄντα, τὸν Μελαγκόμαν ἐκεῖνοι τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς Καρίας, ἄλλους τε ἀγῶνας καὶ Ὀλυμπίασι νικήσαντα, οὐδέπω ἀνὴρ ὃν ὑπερεβάλετο· οὐ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἄλειπτος. τοιοῦτος μέντοι ὃν ἀθλίως

10 ἐτελεύτησε, τῶν μὲν πόνων τῆς ἀθλήσεως ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐλθών, τῶν δὲ ἐν τῷ βίῳ τερπνῶν οὐδενὸς πειραθείσ. οὕτω δὲ σφόδρα φιλότιμος ὑπῆρχεν ὃστε καὶ ὅτε ἀπέθνησκεν Ἀθηνοδώρου τοῦ παγκρατιαστοῦ, φίλου ὄντος ἀπὸ παιδός, ἐπινθάνετο πόσαι τινὲς εἰεν ἡμέραι λοιπαὶ τοῦ ἀγῶνος. καὶ ταῦθ' ἀμα λέγων ἐδάκρυεν ὁ πρεσβύτης.

11 Ἄλλὰ σοὶ μέν, ἔφην, συγγνώμη ὑπερλυπουμένῳ διὰ τὸ πάντως προσήκειν τί σοι αὐτοῦ.

Μὰ τοὺς θεούς, εἶπεν, οὐδὲν ἔμοιγε· οὔτε γὰρ ἀπὸ γένους μοι ἦν οὔτε ἐγύμναζον αὐτόν, ἄλλὰ τῶν παιδῶν τινὰ τῶν παγκρατιαστῶν. ὁ δὲ

¹ εὖ Jacobs: οὐκ.

² ἵσμεν ἄλειπτος Cassaubon: ἵσμεν . . . ππος UB (Room for four letters in lacuna), οἷς μελάνιππος M.

³ ἐνδοξότατον Reiske: ἐνδοξότερον.

¹ Cf. Discourse 8. 18 and 19. 13.

² Cf. Discourse 29. 11.

³ That is, in his youth.

THE TWENTY-EIGHTH DISCOURSE

"He had the right idea though," said I, breaking in. "For in war too the worst soldiers throw away their shields though they know well enough that when unprotected they are more apt to be wounded. Thus, we see, they are overcome more by their exhaustion than by their wounds."¹

"That is just the reason," he rejoined, "why, from the time Melancomas began to compete in the Pythian games, he was the first man to our knowledge who remained undefeated, after winning the most and the greatest crowns and facing antagonists who were neither negligible nor few in number.² And his own father—a very famous man, the well-known Melancomas who came from Caria and among his other victories also won at Olympia—he had surpassed before he came to manhood; for his father did not remain undefeated.³ However, splendid as this young athlete was, he came to a wretched end, after enduring the laborious work of athletics to the uttermost without experiencing any of the joys of life. And he was by nature so exceedingly ambitious that even on his deathbed he inquired of Athenodorus, the pancratiast,⁴ who had been his friend from boyhood, just how many days of the athletic meet were left." And as he said this, the old man burst into tears.

"Ah!" said I, "it is pardonable in you to grieve so excessively; he must certainly be related to you in some way."

"In heaven's name no," he answered, "no relation of mine. For he was neither a blood kinsman of mine, nor was he trained by me; no, I trained one of the boys among the pancratiasts. As for him, he was

¹ A youth who competed in both wrestling and boxing.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

ἀνθρωπος τοιοῦτος ἦν ὥστε πάντας ἐπ' αὐτῷ λυπεῖσθαι τοὺς ἐπισταμένους ἐκεῖνον.

12 Οὕκουν, ἔφην, ἄθλιον δεῖ καλεῖν αὐτόν· τούναντίον γὰρ εὐδαιμονέστατος ἀν εἴη καὶ μακαριώτατος, εἴπερ οἶος λέγεται ἦν· ὡς καὶ γένους ὑπῆρξε λαμπροῦ τυχεῖν καὶ κάλλους, ἔτι δὲ ἀνδρείας καὶ ἴσχύος καὶ σωφροσύνης, ἂν δὴ μέγιστα τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἔστι· τό γε μὴν θαυμαστότατον ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ ἀήττητον γενέσθαι οὐ μόνον τῶν ἀνταγωνιστῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πόνου καὶ καύματος καὶ γαστρὸς καὶ ἀφροδισίων· δεῖ γὰρ πρῶτον τούτοις ἀήττητον εἶναι τὸν μέλλοντα ὑπὸ μηδενὸς τῶν ἀνταγωνιστῶν

13 λειφθῆσεσθαι.¹ ἥδονάς δὲ τίς μείζονας ἥσθη, ὅστις² φιλοτιμότατος ὢν ἀεὶ ἐνίκα καὶ θαυμαζόμενος ἥσθάνετο; καί μοι δοκοῦσι σφόδρα αὐτὸν ἀγαπῆσαι οἱ θεοὶ καὶ μάλιστα τῇ τελευτῇ τιμῆσαι, ὡς ἀν μηδενὸς πειραθείη τῶν χαλεπῶν. ἀνάγκη γὰρ αὐτῷ ἦν προβαίνοντι ἀντὶ μὲν καλλίστου αἰσχροτέρῳ γίγνεσθαι, ἀντὶ δὲ ἰσχυροτάτου ἀσθενεστέρῳ, ἵστις δὲ καὶ λειφθῆναι που. ὅστις δὲ τοῖς μεγίστοις ἀγαθοῖς συναπέρχεται τὰ ἄριστα πράξας, οὗτος εὐδαιμονέστατα τελευτᾷ. εὗροι δ' ἀν τις καὶ τῶν παλαιῶν τοὺς θεοφιλεῖς ὀκυμόρους.

¹ λειφθῆσεσθαι Casaubon: ληφθῆσεσθαι.

² ἥσθη ὅστις Emperius: ἡ ἔσθι ὅστις.

¹ Cf. what Herodotus (1. 31 ff.) says about the two young men, Cleobis and Biton, who in their lives and deaths were much like Melancomas.

² Cf. Xenophon, *Apology of Socrates* 6 and *Memorabilia* 4. 8. 8.

³ Cf. Menander as reported by Plutarch in *Consolation to Apollonius* 119 e, Frag. 125 (Kock): "He whom the gods love

THE TWENTY-EIGHTH DISCOURSE

such a splendid fellow that all who know him felt grief at his death."

"Then," said I, "you have no reason for calling him wretched. On the contrary, he must be most blessed and fortunate if he was the sort of man report makes him. It was his good fortune to come of an illustrious family, to possess beauty, and, in addition, courage, physical strength, and self-control—things that are certainly the greatest blessings. But what was indeed the most surprising thing about a man is, to have remained undefeated not only by his opponents but also by toil and heat and glutony and sensuality; for the man who is going to prove inferior to none of his opponents must first be undefeated by these things. And as for pleasures, who ever enjoyed greater than he, who, being very ambitious, always won, and being admired, knew that he was admired? And it seems to me that the gods loved him exceedingly and honoured him especially in his death, in order that he might experience none of life's great sorrows.¹ For if his life had been spared, he would inevitably have become more ugly after being most beautiful, weaker after being strongest,² and perhaps have been defeated too. But the man who passes away in the midst of the greatest blessings after the finest achievements, that man has the happiest death; and you will find that in ancient times too, those whom the gods loved had a short span of life."³

dies young"—οὐ φιλοῦσιν ἀποθνήσκει νέος; Plautus, *Bacchides*, 4. 7. 18 f.: Quem di diligunt adulescens moritur; Lord Byron, *Don Juan* 4. 12; Dio, Discourse 29. 20. Wordsworth in *The Excursion* σηνες, "The good die first." The same idea is found in Homer, *Odyssey* 15. 245-247 and in Plutarch, *op. cit.* 111 b.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

Τίνας, ἔφη, τούτους λέγεις;
14 Τὸν Ἀχιλλέα, εἶποι, καὶ Πάτροκλον καὶ Ἐκτόρα
καὶ Μέμνονα καὶ Σαρπηδόνα. ἔτι δὲ ἄλλους ὄνομά-
ζοντος ἐμοῦ,
Ταῦτα μέν, ἔφη, καλῶς εἶπας εἰς παραμυθίαν
ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ἔγωγε ἐβούλόμητο σου ἔτι ἀκούειν.
ἄλλὰ γὰρ ᾧρα γυμνάζειν τὸν παιδιόν, καὶ ἀπέρχομαι.

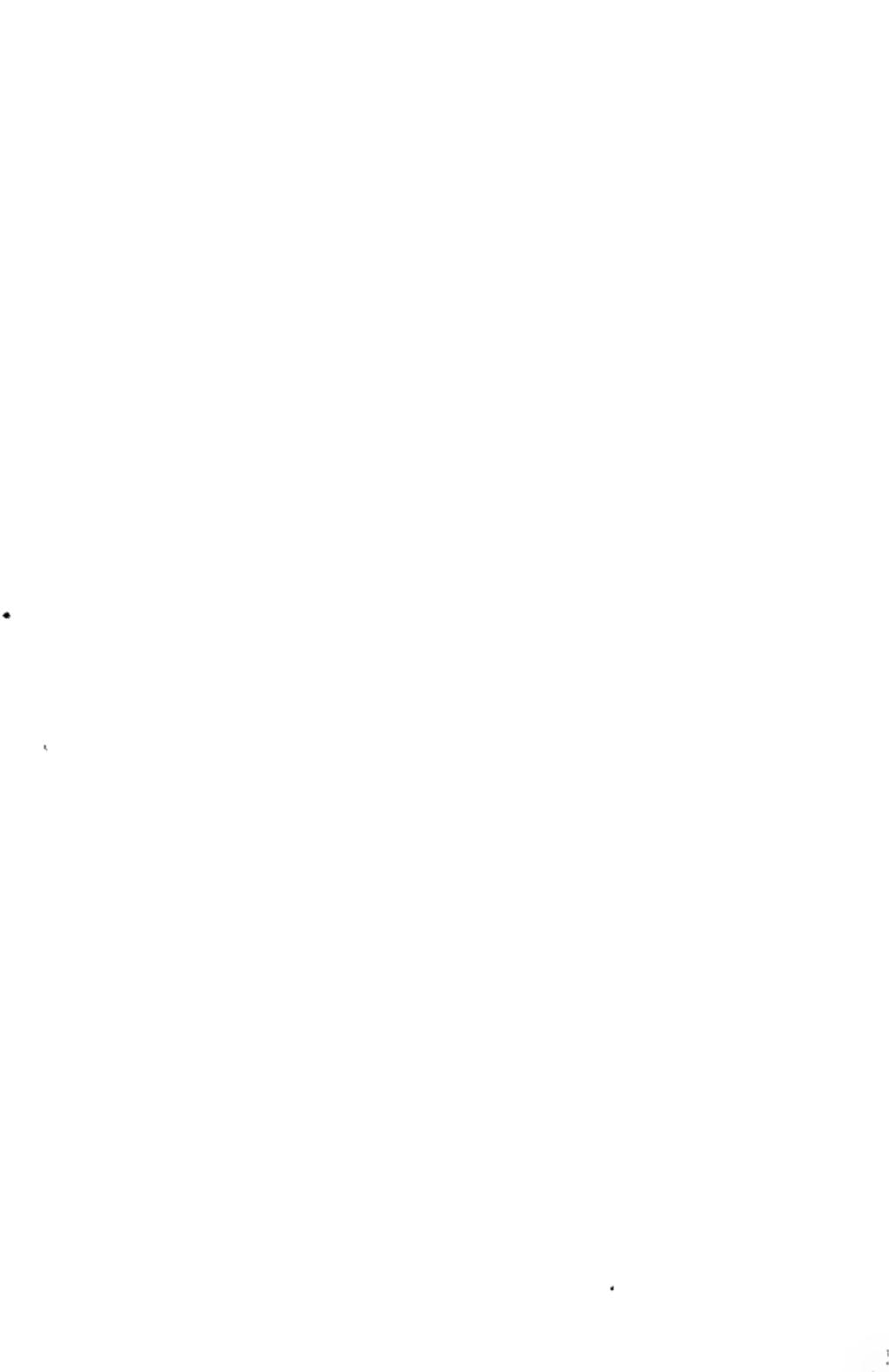
THE TWENTY-EIGHTH DISCOURSE

"Whom do you mean?" he asked.

"Achilles," I replied, "and Patroclus and Hector and Memnon and Sarpedon,"¹ and as I was going on to name still others, he exclaimed:

"What you have said is well suited to comfort those who are in mourning, and I wish that I could listen to you longer; but really it is high time for me to be at the training of the boy, and I am off."

¹ See Discourse 29, 20 for a somewhat longer list. Sarpedon, a Lycian prince and ally of the Trojans, who was slain by Patroclus. Not to be confused with his grandfather of the same name, who lived for three generations.



THE TWENTY-NINTH DISCOURSE: MELANCOMAS I¹

This Discourse is in the form of a funeral oration for a young boxer Melancomas, who had died very suddenly. As to the question whether there ever was such a Melancomas and as to the time and place of this oration the reader is referred to the Introduction to the preceding Discourse.

If we follow von Arnim and others in believing that there really was such a Melancomas and that this funeral oration really was delivered, then arises the question of who delivered it. Apparently it was not Dio himself, because the speaker had been a close friend of the deceased and was deeply moved by his death; while Dio, on the other hand, had known Melancomas only by name, as he says in Discourse 28. 5. Then too, the speaker represents himself as quite youthful and not a fluent speaker. But if Dio merely wrote the oration for some one else to deliver, who was that person? One thinks first of Titus, who according to a Neapolitan inscription was the agonothete at the Games in Naples three times and gymnasiarch once before A.D. 81 and was reputed to have been a lover of Melancomas. (Cf. Themistius, Oration 10, p. 139 Hard.). But it seems unlikely that a man of Titus' disposition, high place, and maturity—he was possibly thirty-three years old at the time when this oration is supposed to have been delivered—and fresh from the capture of Jerusalem, would have represented himself as youthful and immature; or have ranked athletics higher than warfare, as the speaker does in § 15. It is more likely that this oration was delivered by a Greek who was a high official at the Games.

The thought content of this Discourse and the information given about Melancomas are practically the same as in the preceding Discourse; but a good deal more is said in praise of the deceased; and athletics, as already said, are put on a higher plane than warfare.

¹ After the numeral A' the MSS. add *τῇ ταξι β'*—“in its position II.”

29. ΜΕΛΑΓΚΟΜΑΣ Α, ΤΗΙ ΤΑΞΕΙ Β

’Αλλ’ ἐμοί, ὁ μῆνδρες, οὐδ’ ὅ τι εἴπω ἔπεισω
 ὑπὸ λύπης ἄμια καὶ ἐκπλήξεως τοῦ αἰφυιδίου
 πάθους. οὐ γὰρ μόνον διὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἢν ἔχω
 μᾶλλον ἑτέρου μοι τῶν πολιτῶν σύκειν τὸ συμ-
 βεβιγκός, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἴδιᾳ μοι φίλος ἢν Μελαγκόμας
 ὑπὲρ ἅπαντας, ἀσπερ καὶ ὑμῶν ἐπίστανται οἱ
 πλείους. καὶ ἔμοιγε ἄποπον φαίνεται τὸ¹ ἐπὶ²
 τοῖς τεθνεῶσιν ἔθος, ὅτι τοῖς πλεῦστα³ λυπουμένοις
 μάλιστα προσήκειν δοκεῖ τὸ ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς λέγειν.
 οἱ γὰρ σφοδρότατα ἀνιώμενοι ἀδύνατοι λέγειν
 2 ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ τούτου εἰσίν. ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἡλικίας ἐν
 τούτῳ εἴμι, ἐν φῷ ἡ μὲν τοῦ λόγου δύναμις ἥττον
 ἄπασιν ὑπάρχει, τὸ δὲ χαίρειν καὶ τὸ λυπεῖσθαι
 ἰσχυρότατον γύγνεται. ἀλλ’ ἐπειδὴ τιμιώτερος
 μὲν στρατηγοῦ ἔπαινος ἐπὶ στρατιώτῃ ἀγαθῷ
 τελευτήσαντι, τιμιώτερος δὲ παντὸς ἀρχοντος
 ἢ ἴδιώτου, κάμοὶ λεκτέουν τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔνεκεν ὡς
 ἀν δύνωμαι. πρέποι δ’ ἀν τῇ ἐκείνου ἀρετῇ καὶ
 τῇ ἐμῇ νεότητι μηδὲν μακρὸν ἀπαιτεῖν μηδὲ
 ἀκριβῆ μᾶλλον ἢ γενναῖον τὸν ἔπαινον.

¹ φαίνεται τὸ Εμπειρία : φαίνετο Μ, ἐφαίνετο τὸ ΟΒ.

² πλεῦστα Εμπειρία : ἥκιστα.

¹ Cf. note on the title of Melancomas II.

² Cf. Sophocles, *Trachinians* 137: χαίρειν τε καὶ στέρεσθαι.

THE TWENTY-NINTH DISCOURSE: MELANCOMAS I¹

All sirs ! I cannot think of anything at all to say, so great is my grief alike and my consternation at this sudden bereavement ; for not only on account of the office which I hold does the disaster come home to me more than to any other citizen, but Melancomas was also a personal friend of mine beyond all others, as most of you know. And to me at least it seems an absurd custom, when citizens die, that those most deeply afflicted should be thought the most fitting persons to speak at their obsequies ; since those who are most grief-stricken are for that very reason incapable of speech. Moreover, I am at the time of life when all men find that, while their ability to speak is always less than it was, yet the emotions of both joy and sorrow ² are greatest in intensity. Since, however, a eulogy spoken by a general over a good soldier who has passed away does him a greater honour, and one spoken by any ruler a greater honour than one spoken by a private citizen, so it devolves upon me also, in view of the office I hold, to speak to the best of my ability. And it would be in keeping with the merit of the deceased and my own youth to demand of me no lengthy or studied eulogy, but praise that comes from the heart.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν εὐγενείας ἀληθοῦς ἔτυχεν.
οὐ γὰρ εἴ τῳ πλουσίῳ συγέβη τυχεῖν προγόνων,
οὐ μὴν οὐδέ εἰ βασιλέων, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα φαύλων,
3 ὅδε ἂν εἴη καλῶς γεγονάς, ἀλλ' οἱ φύντες ἐξ
ἀγαθῶν, ὥσπερ ὅδε. ὁ γὰρ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ τῶν
κατ' αὐτὸν διήνεγκε τοῖς καλλίστοις, εὐψυχίᾳ
καὶ ρώμῃ. δηλοῦσι δὲ αἱ νῦκτι ἐνίκησε καὶ
'Ολυμπίστι καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀγῶνιν.

Αὐτὸς δὲ ἔφη κύλλιστος ἡθιώπων, οὐ τῶν νῦν
μόνιν, ἀλλ', ὡς ἐνεστιν εἰκάζειν ἐκ τῆς ὑπερβολῆς,
καὶ ἀπάντων ἀπλῶς τῶν ἐξ ἅπιστος τοῦ χρόνου
ἀνομασμένων ἐπὶ κάλλει, ὃσοι θητοὶ ἐγένοντο.
4 οἱ μὲν γάρ πολλοὶ τῶν νεομαρτυρένων καλῶν,
μέρη τινὰ τοῦ σώματος εὐπρεπῆ ἔχοντες, ἐπειτα δὲ
ἔδοξαν καλοί, τῆς ὄψεως ἀεὶ τὰ ἡδιστα βουλο-
μένης δρᾶν, τῶν δὲ ἡττώνων ἀμελούσης. οἱ
δέ τινες φύσει μὲν εὐειδοῦς σώματος οὐκ ἔτυχον,
ῶρα δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐπῆλθεν.¹ ἡττώμενοι δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς
ῶρας οἱ ἐντυγχάνοντες κάλλος αὐτὴν ἀνόμασαν,
ἀνθούσης ἀεὶ τῆς ἀκμῆς ἐν ἅπασι καὶ ζῷοις
5 καὶ φυτοῖς. τοιούτους μὲν οὖν μυρίους ἂν εὔροι-
τις τοὺς αὐτοὺς ὅτε μὲν καλοὺς δυκοῦντας, ὅτε δὲ
αἰσχρούς, καὶ τοῖς μὲν σφόδρα ἀρέσκοντας, παρ'
ἐτέροις δὲ οὐδενὸς λόγου τυγχάνοντας. ὅλο-
κληρον δὲ καὶ ἀληθιών κάλλος θαυμαστὸν εἴ-
τῳ ὑπῆρξεν ὥσπερ τῷδε. ἐν ἅπαντι μὲν γὰρ

¹ For ἐπῆλθεν Reiske proposed ἐπῆνθεν.

¹ Cf. Dio, Discourse 15. 29.

² Cf. Discourse 28. 9 ff.

THE TWENTY-NINTH DISCOURSE

In the first place, he had the good fortune to be truly well-born. For it is not because he chanced to have forebears who were rich—nay, not even if they were kings but in other respects were quite without merit—that this man was well-born. That term applies to those who have come from good parents, as this man did.¹ For his father stood out conspicuous among all men of his time for those fairest gifts—nobility of soul and bodily strength. This is proved by the victories that he won, both at Olympia and in the other games.²

Then he was himself by nature's gift the most beautiful of men, not only of those of the present day but, as one may infer from his surpassing beauty, of absolutely all those of all time who have been renowned for beauty, all those, I mean, who were born mortal. For the majority of those who have been regarded as beautiful because they did possess comeliness in certain parts of their body afterwards have got the reputation of being beautiful; since the eye ever wishes to direct itself to the most pleasing things to the neglect of what is inferior. And certain others were not favoured by nature with a beautiful body, but a lovely prime had arrived for them, so that those who met them, succumbing thereto, called it beauty, since the hey-day of life always bourgeons in all animals and plants alike. Thousands of persons of this sort can be found who at one time seem beautiful and at another time ugly; and though they please some exceedingly, with others they get no notice at all. But when it is a question of perfect and true beauty, it would be surprising if anyone ever possessed it as this man did. For he had it in his whole body and always

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

τῷ σώματι ἐκέκτητο αὐτό, ἀεὶ δὲ ὅμοίως, καὶ πρὸ ἥβης καὶ ὕστερον· καὶ οὐκ ἄν ποτε ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον τοῦ χρόνου προῆλθεν, οὐδὲ εἰ πάνυ μακροῦ γήρως ἔτυχεν, ὥστε ἀμιαυρῶσαι τὸ εἶδος.

6 Τεκμήριον δὲ τῆς ὑπερβολῆς· οὐ γὰρ ἐν ἴδιώταις ἔξεταζόμενος διέφερεν οὐδὲ ὑπὸ ὀλγῶν θεωρούμενος ὑπὸ τούτων ἐθαυμάζετο, ἀλλὰ μὴν ἀεὶ δίγπου ἐν τοῖς ἀπάντων καλλίστοις, ἀμα τοῖς ἀθληταῖς ὅν. οἱ γὰρ μέγιστοι καὶ εὐειδέστατοι καὶ πλείστης ἐπιμελεῖας τῶν σωμάτων τυγχάνοντες οἵδε εἰσίν. Ἐωράθη¹ δὲ μικροῦ δεῦν ὑπὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων. οὔτε γὰρ πύλις οὐδεμίᾳ τῶν ἐγδόξων οὔτε ἔθνος οὐδέν ἔιθα μὴ ἀφίκετο· καὶ παρὰ πᾶσιν ὅμοίως τὴν αὐτὴν σῆχε δύξαν, ὡς οὐδένα ἴδουσι καλλίστα. δὲ ὑπὸ πλείστων μὲν θαυμασθείσ, ἐν δὲ τοῖς καλλίστοις μόνος ἔχων τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ κάλλους φήμην δῆλον ὡς θείας τινὸς μορφῆς ἔτυχεν.

7 Ἐγὼ οὖν πρῶτον εὐδαιμονίζω τοῦ κάλλους αὐτόν, δ δὴ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἐστὶν ἀγαθῶν ἀριδηλότατον, καὶ ἥδιστον μὲν θεοῖς, ἥδιστον δὲ ἀνθρώποις, ἀλυπότατον δὲ τῷ ἔχοντι καὶ ἐπιγνωσθῆναι ρῆστον. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἀλλα ἀγαθὰ καν λάθοι τινὶ προσόντα, καὶ ἀνδρείᾳ καὶ σωφροσύνῃ² καὶ φρόνησις, εἰ μὴ τύχοι ἔργου τινὸς ἀποδεικνύντος· τὸ δὲ κάλλος οὐχ οἶν τε λανθάνειν. ἀμα γὰρ τῷ ἔχοντι φαίνεται· εἴποι δ' ἄν τις ὅτι καὶ πρότερον· οὕτως³

¹ Ἐωράθη Empereius: ἀράθη ΗΙ3, ἐπράθη Μ.

² καὶ σωφροσύνῃ added by Dindorf.

³ οὕτως Stoaeus: ὅμως.

¹ For the same thought see Xenophon, *Symposium* 4. 17, and for the opposite thought Discourse 28. 13.

THE TWENTY-NINTH DISCOURSE

to the same degree, both before he reached years of manhood and afterward ; and he would never have lived long enough, even if he had reached an extreme old age, to have dimmed his beauty.¹

And here is an indication of the surpassing quality of his beauty : not that he stood out pre-eminent in any company of professional men, or was admired merely by some few who saw him, no indeed, but that he was always admired when in a company of those who are perhaps the most beautiful men in the world—the athletes among whom he moved. For the tallest and most comely men, whose bodies receive the most perfect care, are these. And he was seen by practically all mankind. For there was no city of repute, and no nation, which he did not visit ; and among all alike the same opinion of him prevailed—that they had seen no one more beautiful. And since he was admired by the greatest numbers, and amongst the most beautiful men he alone possessed the fame of sheer beauty, it is evident that he was blest with what we may term a form truly divine.

I therefore in the first place felicitate him for his beauty, a thing which certainly is the most conspicuous of the blessings that can fall to man, which, while being most pleasing to gods and most pleasing to men, is yet fraught with least pain to its possessor and is easiest to recognize. For while the other blessings that a man may have might easily pass unnoticed, such as courage and temperance and wisdom, unless some deed should happen to reveal them, yet beauty cannot remain hidden. For it becomes manifest the moment its possessor appears ; nay, one might say that it becomes manifest even

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

δέξεται αἰσθησιν αὐτοῦ παρέχει. ἔτι δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ἀγαθοῖς οἵ πλεῖστοι φθονοῦσι καὶ δυσμενεῖς γίγνονται· τὸ δὲ κάλλος τοὺς αἰσθανομένους αὐτοῦ φίλους ποιεῖται καὶ οὐδένα ἔχθρὸν ἐὰν γίγνεσθαι.

8 Εἰ δέ τίς φησι κάλλους με ποιεῖσθαι ἑγκώμια, ἀλλ’ οὐχὶ τοῦ ἀνδρός, οὐκ ἂν ὅρθῶς αἰτιῶτο. αὐτίκα γὰρ ἐπαινος ἀνδρὸς ἂν λέγοιτο, ἐπειδὴν τὴν ἀνδρείαν αὐτοῦ ἐπεξίωμεν. ὅπου μὲν γὰρ ἀμφίλογον¹ τὸ εἶναι τινα τοιοῦτον, τότε ἀποδεικνύναι χρή· ὅπου δὲ γιγνώσκεται,² τὴν φύσιν ἐπαινεῖν τοῦ προσόντος ἀγαθοῦ τινι. διὸ γὰρ τοῦδε ἐπαινος ἄμα ἂν εἴη καὶ τοῦ ἔχοντος αὐτό.

Μάλιστα δ’ ἂν τις θαυμάσειε Μελαγκόμαν, ὅτι μορφῇ τοιοῦτος ὡν τῇ ἀνδρείᾳ διήνεγκεν. 9 δοκεῖ γὰρ ἔμοιγε τῇ ψυχῇ φιλονικῆσαι πρὸς τὸ σῶμα καὶ σπουδάσαι ὅπως ἂν διὰ ταύτην ἐνδοξότερος γένηται. γνοὺς οὖν τῶν πρὸς ἀνδρείαν ἔργων κάλλιστον ἄμα καὶ ἐπιπονώτατον τὴν ἄθλησιν, ἐπὶ ταύτην ἥλθεν. τῶν μὲν γὰρ πολεμικῶν διὰ τε καιρὸς οὐκ ἦν ἡ τε ἀσκησις ἐλαφροτέρα. φαίνην δ’ ἂν ἔγωγε καὶ ταύτῃ³ ἥπτονα εἶναι, μόνης γὰρ εὑψυχίας ἐπίδειξις ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς, ἡ δὲ ἄθλησις ἄμα μὲν ἀνδρείαν, ἄμα δὲ ἴσχύν, 10 ἄμα δὲ σωφροσύνην ἐμποιεῖ. καὶ τοίνυν τῆς

¹ ἀμφίλογον Reiske: ἀναμφίλογον.

² γιγνώσκεται Emperius: γίγνεται.

³ ταύτῃ Wifstrand: ταύτης.

THE TWENTY-NINTH DISCOURSE

sooner, so penetrating is the impression it makes on the senses. Furthermore, most men envy all other blessings and become hostile to their possessor, but beauty makes friends of those who perceive it and allows no one to become an enemy.¹

But if anyone says that I am uttering an encomium of beauty and not of the man himself, his criticism is unjust. To illustrate: it would be called a eulogy of a man if we should dwell upon his manly courage. Very well, then: when it is a matter of dispute as to whether a person possesses any given quality, then it is necessary to prove he does; but when he is known to possess it, we need only to praise the nature of the good trait which is admittedly his. For the eulogy of this will be at the same time also a eulogy of its possessor.

And what is most admirable in Melancomas is that, with all his beauty of figure, he surpassed in manly courage. Indeed, it seems to me that his soul vied with his body and strove to make herself the means of his winning a greater renown. He therefore, recognizing that, of all the activities conducive to courage, athletics is at once the most honourable and the most laborious, chose that. Indeed, for the soldier's career no opportunity existed, and the training also is less severe. And I for my part would venture to say that it is inferior also in that there is scope for courage alone in warfare, whereas athletics at one and the same time produce manliness, physical strength, and self-control.² Furthermore, he chose,

¹ Cf. Discourse 28. 5 and 6. Perhaps Dio got some of these ideas on beauty from Plato's *Phaedrus*, 250 b-e.

The whole of § 7 is copied out in Stobaeus, *Florilegium* 65. 9.

² Cf. §§ 15 and 16.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

ἀθλήσεως εἶλετο οὐ τὸ ράστον, ἀλλὰ τὸ χαλεπώτατον· πυγμὴν γὰρ ἥσκησεν. χαλεπὸν μὲν οὖν καὶ τοῦ ἐλαχίστου ἔργου ἐπ' ἄκρον ἐλθεῖν, μῆτι γε ἐν τῷ μεγίστῳ καὶ δυσχερεστάτῳ πάντας ὑπερβαλέσθαι, ὥσπερ ὅδε.

Καὶ τὸ μὲν τοὺς στεφάνους αὐτοῦ καθ' ἕκαστον ἐπεξιέναι καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας, ἐν οὓς ἐνίκησε, πρὸς εἰδότας ὑμᾶς περιπτόν, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἑτέρους ἀν εἴποι τις τῶν αὐτῶν τυχόντας. ὁ δὲ μηδενὶ

11 ὑπῆρξεν, ἐπίστασθε μὲν ὅμοίως, δι' αὐτὸν μέντοι τοῦτο ρήτεον· τοὺς γὰρ μηδὲ εἰδόσιν οὐδὲ πιστεῦσαι ράδιον· ὅτι τοσούτοις ἀνταγωνισταῖς χρησάμενος καὶ οὕτως ἀγαθοῖς ὑπ' οὐδενὸς ἡττήθη, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀεὶ πάντας ἐνίκα. καίτοι οὕτε στρατηγὸν εὗροι τις ἀν ἐν παντὶ τῷ χρόνῳ ἀήττητον οὕτε ἀριστέα πολεμικόν,¹ ὃς οὐκ ἥδη ποτὲ καὶ ἔφυγεν ἐκ μάχης. οὐδὲ γὰρ ὅτι ταχέως ἐτελεύτησε, διὰ τοῦτο φαίη τις ἀν ἀήττητον² διαγενέσθαι· πολὺ γὰρ πλείστους ἄρ'³ ἀγῶνας ἤγωνίσατο. ἐν δὲ τῇ πείρᾳ τὸ σφάλλεσθαι, οὐκ ἐν τῷ μήκει τοῦ χρόνου. ἔτι δὲ καὶ τόδε ἀν τις αὐτοῦ κατεπλάγη, τὸ μήτε παιόμενον αὐτὸν μήτε παίοντα νικᾶν· τοσοῦτο τῇ ρώμῃ περιῆν καὶ τῷ δύνασθαι πονεῖν.

12 πολλάκις γὰρ δι' ὅλης τῆς ἡμέρας ἤγωνίσατο ἐν τῇ σφοδροτάτῃ ὥρᾳ τοῦ ἔτους, καὶ δυνάμενος θᾶττον ἀν περιγενέσθαι παίων οὐκ ἐβούλετο,

¹ πολεμικὸν Arnim: πολιτικὸν M, πολέμων UB.

² αήττητον Casaubon: αὐτὸν.

³ ἄρ' Cohoon: ἄν, which Reiske deleted.

THE TWENTY-NINTH DISCOURSE

not the easiest branch of athletics, but the most laborious, since he trained for boxing. Now it is difficult to reach the top even in the humblest branch, let alone to surpass all others in the greatest and most difficult one, as this man did.

To give the full record, one after another, of his crowns and the contests in which he won them is superfluous in the presence of you who know of them, and especially since anyone could name others who gained these same victories. But that which has fallen to the lot of no one else, although you are aware of it as well as I, yet for that very reason must be mentioned; for even those who do not know of it also find it difficult to credit—I mean that, although he met so many antagonists and such good ones, he went down before none of them, but was himself always victorious.¹ Yet you could find in all the past no general who was never defeated, no hero in war who did not actually some time or other flee from battle. For one could not say of our friend that he remained undefeated simply because he died early, since, after all, he went through far more contests than anyone else; and the chance of losing depends upon the attempts made and not upon the length of life. Furthermore, a person might have been amazed at this—that he won all his victories without being hit himself or hitting his opponent, so far superior was he in strength and in his power of endurance. For often he would fight throughout the whole day, in the hottest season of the year, and although he could have more quickly won the contest by striking a blow, he refused to do it,

¹ Cf. Discourse 28. 9.

DIO CHrysostom

νομίζων τὸ μὲν πληγῆ νικῆσαι καὶ τοῦ φαυλοτάτου ¹
 ἔσθ' ὅτε εἶναι τὸν βέλτιστον, εἰ τύχοι· τὴν δὲ
 ἀληθεστάτην νίκην, ὅταν ἄτρωτον ἀναγκάσῃ τὸν
 ἀντίπαλον ἀπειπεῖν· οὐ γὰρ τοῦ τραύματος,
 ἀλλ' ἑαυτοῦ ἡττῆσθαι· καὶ τὸ ὄλω τινὰ τῷ
 σώματι ἀπειπεῖν, ἀλλὰ μὴ τῷ πληγέντι μέρει,
 λαμπρόν. τὸν δὲ ἐπειγόμενον ὃς οὐλόν τε τάχιστα
 νικῆσαι καὶ παίοντα καὶ συμπλεκόμενον αὐτὸν
 ἡττῆσθαι τοῦ καύματος καὶ τοῦ χρόνου.

13 Εἰ δέ τις οὐ ταύτη ὑπολαμβάνει, ἐννοείτω ὅτι
 σύνεις καὶ ἔλαφοι, μέχρι μὲν αὐτοῖς η ἵσχυς πάρεστιν,
 οὕτε ἀγρώποις οὕτε κυπὶν ὅμοισε χωριδσιν·
 ὅταν δὲ ἡττηθῇ καὶ κιάμῃ, τηγικάδε συμπλέκεται,
 καὶ μᾶλλον ἔθέλει τιτρώσκεται καὶ ἀποθηγήσκειν
 ἢ πονεῖν ἔτι διωκόμενα. ὅμοιώς δὲ καὶ ἀνδρες
 ἐν πολέμῳ, καίτοι εἰδότες ὅτι μᾶλλον ἀν παιώντο
 φεύγοντες ἢ μένοντες, διὰ τὸ μὴ βούλεσθαι πλείω
 χρόνον κάμνειν ἀπίστη παραδόντες αὐτοὺς τοῖς
 ὅπισθεν παίειν. οὕτω τό γε τραυμάτων κατα-
 φρονεῖν οὐκ ἀνδρείας ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ τούναντίον.

14 Οἶμαι δὴ ἐν ταύτῳ πάντα εἰρῆσθαι καὶ περὶ
 ἀνδρείας καὶ περὶ εὐψυχίας καὶ περὶ ἐγκρατείας
 καὶ περὶ σωφροσύνης. εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἐγκρατής τε
 καὶ σωφρων ἦν, οὐκ ἄν, οἶμαι, τοσοῦτο τῇ ρώμῃ
 ὑπερέσχειν οὐδὲ εἰ φύσει ἴσχυρότατος ὑπῆρχεν.
 καὶ ἔγωγε οὐκ ἄν ὀκνήσαιμι εἰπεῖν ὅτι καὶ τῶν

¹ φαυλοτάτου Ροΐκο: φαυλοτέρου.

¹ Cf. Discourse 28. 7 f.

THE TWENTY-NINTH DISCOURSE

thinking that it was possible at times for the least competent boxer to overcome by a blow the very best man, if the chance for making it were offered; but he held that it was the truest victory when he forced his opponent, although uninjured, to give up; for then the man was overcome, not by his injury, but by himself; and that for an adversary to give up because of the condition of his whole body and not simply of the part of his body that was struck, meant brilliant work on the part of the victor; whereas the man who rushed in to win as quickly as possible by striking and clinching was himself overcome by the heat and by the prolonged effort.¹

But if anyone does not look at the matter in this light, let him reflect that boars and stags, as long as their strength holds out, do not come to close quarters with either men or dogs, and that it is only when they give out from exhaustion that they come in close and prefer wounds and death to enduring the fatigue of pursuit any longer. It is the same with men in war: although they know well that they are more likely to be struck when in flight than when they stand their ground, yet because they are unwilling to suffer distress through weariness any longer, they retire, in this way exposing themselves to the blows of their enemies in their rear. Therefore contempt for wounds is not a mark of courage but of the opposite.

So I think that under one and the same head everything has been said, not only about manliness and courage, but also about self-control and about temperance. For if Melancomas had not been self-controlled and temperate, I imagine that he would not have been so superior in strength, even if nature did make him the strongest man. And I for my part

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

παλαιῶν ἡρώων, οὓς ἀπαντες ὑμινοῦσιν, οὐδενὸς ἐλάττονα ἀρετὴν εἶχεν, οὕτε τῶν ἐν Τροίᾳ πολεμησάντων οὕτε τῶν ὕστερον ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀμυναμένων. καὶ εἴ γε τότε ἐγένετο, ἅπερ ἔκεινοι ἔπραξεν ἄν.

15 Καὶ καθόλου δὲ ἔγωγε τοῦτο τῆς ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἀρετῆς προκρίνω, ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν οἱ ἐνθάδε ἄριστοι κάκεῖ¹ διαφέροιεν ἀν. ὁ γὰρ ἴσχυρότερος² τῷ σώματι καὶ πλείω χρόνον πονεῖν δυνάμενος, οὗτος, οἷμαι,³ καὶ ἀνευ ὅπλων καὶ σὺν ὅπλοις κρείττων ἐστίν· ἔπειτα οὐχ ὅμοιον πρὸς ἴδιώτας ἀγωνίζεσθαι καὶ τῷ παντὶ φαυλοτέρους καὶ⁴ ἐξ ἀπάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης τοὺς κρατίστους ἔχειν ἀντιπάλους. κάκεῖ μὲν ἀπαξ ὁ κρατήσας τὸν ἀνταγωνιστὴν ἀπέκτεινεν, ὥστε μὴ αὐθις ἔχειν τὸν αὐτὸν ἀντίπαλον· ἐνθάδε δὲ ἡ νικη περὶ τῆς ἡμέρας ἔκεινης ἐστίν, ἔπειτα καὶ τοὺς ἡττωμένους ὁμοίως ὁ νικῶν ἀνταγωνιστὰς ἔχει καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τὸν βουλόμενον. ἔτι δὲ⁵ ἐνθάδε μὲν ὁ κρείττων τοῦ ἡττονος περίεστιν· οὐδενὶ γὰρ ἄλλῳ ἡ τῇ εὐψυχίᾳ καὶ ἴσχυΐ δεῖ κρατεῖν· ἐν δὲ τοῖς πολέμοις ἡ τοῦ σιδήρου δύναμις, πολὺ κρείττων οὖσα τῆς ἀνθρωπώνης φύσεως, οὐκ ἐῷ τὴν τῶν σωμάτων ἀρετὴν ἐξετάζεσθαι, πολλάκις δὲ πρὸς τῶν χειρόνων γίγνεται. ὅσα δὲ αὖ περὶ ἀθλῆσεως, καὶ περὶ ἀθλητοῦ ἔιρηκα καὶ⁶ ἀποδειχθέντος γε ὅτι ἄριστός ἐστι τῶν ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ.

16 τῶν ἄλλων τὸν βουλόμενον.

¹ κάκεῖ Emporius: ἔκει.

² ἴσχυρότερος Emporius: ἴσχυρότατος.

³ οἷμαι. Emporius: ἀν μοι.

⁴ καὶ Σερρᾶς: ἡ.

⁵ δὲ αὐτεῖται by Reiske.

⁶ Selden proposed to delete καὶ.

THE TWENTY-NINTH DISCOURSE

should not hesitate to say that even of all the ancient heroes whose praises everyone chants, he possessed valour inferior to none, inferior neither to those who warred at Troy nor to those who in later times repulsed the barbarians in Greece. Indeed, if he had lived in their day, his deeds would have matched theirs.

And, speaking generally, I give athletics the preference over distinction in warfare on the following scores: first, that the best men in athletics would distinguish themselves in war also; for the man who is stronger in body and is able to endure hardship the longer time is, in my opinion, he who, whether unarmed or armed, is the better man; second, it is not the same thing to contend against untrained opponents and men who are inferior in every way, as it is to have for one's antagonists the best men drawn from the whole inhabited earth. Besides, in war the man who once conquers slays his antagonist, so as not to have the same opponent the second time; whereas in athletics the victory is just for that one day, and afterwards the victor has for his opponents, not only the men he has beaten, but anyone else who cares to challenge. Further, in athletics the better man proves superior to the inferior man, since he must conquer with nothing else but his courage and physical strength; while in war the might of steel, which is much superior to mere human flesh, does not allow the excellency of men's bodies to be tested and often takes the side of the inferior man.¹ Moreover, everything that I have said about athletics I have also said about one who as an athlete, aye, and one who has been proved to be the best of the men in

¹ Cf. § 9.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

ἴσως δὲ κάμοὶ καὶ τοῦς παροῦσι προσήκων ὁ λόγος, ὥστε τοῦτο ἄριστον ὃν¹ ἀποφαίνειν.

“Οτῷ γὰρ ὑπῆρξε μὲν κάλλος σώματος, ὑπῆρξε δὲ ἀνδρεία καὶ εὐψυχία, ἔτι δὲ σωφροσύνη καὶ τὸ ἀγέττητον γενέσθαι,² τίνα ἂν τοῦτο ἀνδρὸς 17 εὐδαιμονέστερον τις φίσειεν; καίτοι³ τοιούτῳ⁴ παραγενέσθαι χαλεπωτάτῳ ἐστὸν ἀνδρεία καὶ σωφροσύνη· κάλλος γὰρ ἀνθρώπους μάλιστα δὴ χαυνοῖ καὶ ἀγαπεῖθεν τρυφᾶν, ὡς ἂν δόξῃς μὲν ἔτέρας οὐ δεομένους, ὅταν τις περιβόητος ἢ τὸ εἶδος, ἡδίωνος δ' οὕσις τῆς ῥᾳθυμίας. εὖροι δ' ἂν τις ἔξ ἀρχῆς ἀναλογιζόμενος τοὺς καλλίστους τῶν πρότερον τοὺς δὴ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν οὐδὲν ἀνδρείας οὐδὲ ἀρετῆς ἔργον ἀπυδειξαμένους, ἀλλὰ Γανυμήδης μὲν διὰ τὸ παῖς ἀφανισθῆναι ἔξ ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲν ἔδόκει πρᾶξαι λαμπρόν. 18 περὶ δὲ Ἀδώνιδος ἢ Φάωνος⁵ ἢ τῶν ὁμοίων, ὅσοι περιττῆς δόξης ἐπὶ τῷ εἴδει ἔτυχον, οὐδὲν ὅτι μὴ περὶ τοῦ κάλλους ἀκούομεν. μόνους δὲ ἂν εἴποι τις ἀνδρείους τῶν ἄγαν καλῶν Θησέα καὶ Ἀχιλλέα, καὶ τούτοις οὐ πάνυ ἡ σωφροσύνη ὑπῆρξεν. οὐ γὰρ ἂν αὐτῶν ὁ μὲν Ἐλένην πρὸς βίαιην ἥρπασεν, ὁ δ' ἐστασίαζεν ἐπὶ Τροίας ὧν

¹ ὃν added by Capps. ² γενέσθαι Imperius: γίνεσθαι.

³ καίτοι Capps: καὶ.

⁴ καὶ τοιούτῳ Sonny: καίτοι αὐτῷ τούτῳ.

⁵ Φάωνος Wifstrand: Ἰαοίωνος Imperius: Ιάσονος.

¹ That is, conducive to the development of the virtues; cf. § 21.

² A beautiful youth beloved by Aphrodite.

THE TWENTY-NINTH DISCOURSE

that profession; and perhaps both for me and for this audience my speech may appropriately show that this is for the best.¹

Now since his was beauty of body, his was courage and a stout heart and, besides, self-control and the good fortune of never having been defeated, what man could be called happier than he? And yet for a man like him these twin virtues, courage and self-control, are most difficult to achieve; since beauty is stronger than any other influence to make people conceited and to entice them to a life of luxury and ease, as though they had no need of any other glory when they are noted for their comeliness, and as though an idle life were more pleasant. And one might find in reckoning over the most beautiful men of former times from the beginning that the great majority of them did no deed which gave proof of manliness or of virtue in general. Nay, while in the case of Ganymede they thought it was because he disappeared from the sight of man when a boy that he did not perform any brilliant exploit; yet regarding Adonis,² or Phaon,³ or similar men, all of whom gained extraordinary fame for their loveliness, we hear nothing except about their beauty. The only exceedingly beautiful men who were brave that we can mention were Theseus and Achilles, and these men did not have very much self-control; for otherwise the former would not have carried off Helen by force,⁴ and the other would not have quarrelled at

³ A boatman of Mitylene who was given youth and beauty by Aphrodité. Sappho because slighted by him threw herself from the Leucadian rock, so the story has it. Iasion (see *Zeus and Electra*, p. 17) was beloved by Demeter.

¹ See Herodotus 9, 73 and Plutarch, *Life of Theseus* 31-33.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

ἔνεκεν ἐστασίαζεν. Ἰππολύτῳ δὲ σωφροσύνη μὲν ὑπῆρξεν, ἀνδρεία δὲ ἄδηλον εἰ παρῆν· οὐ γὰρ ἀληθὲς τεκμήριον κυνηγεσία.

19 Ἀλλ' ὃς δὴ πάντα τὰ ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀγαθὰ ἐκτήσατο, ἄξιος ἂν εἴη καὶ τῆς τελευτῆς εὔδαιμονίζεσθαι. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὁ πλεῖστος ἀνθρώποις χρόνος ἄριστος ἦν, ταῦτη ἂν τις αὐτὸν ὡλοφύρατο· νῦν δέ, ὀλίγου τοῦ παντὸς ἀνθρώποις βίου δεδομένου, πλείστους ἂν εὗροι τις, οὓς πολὺ ἄμεινον εἶχεν, εἰ θᾶττον ἐτελεύτησαν· τοσαῦται συμφοραὶ

20 καταλαμβάνουσιν. ἔτι δὲ τῶν παλαιῶν τοὺς ἔξοχωτάτους ἀκούομεν οὐδένα αὐτῶν ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐλθόντα τοῦ βίου, Πάτροκλόν τε καὶ Ἀντίλοχον, ἔτι δὲ Σαρπηδόνα καὶ Μέμνονα καὶ Ἀχιλλέα καὶ Ἰππόλυτον· τούς τε Βοιωτοὺς Ὡτον καὶ Ἐφιάλτην, οὓς μεγίστους καὶ καλλίστους γενέσθαι φησὶν "Ομηρος μετὰ Ὁρίωνα, αὐτὸν τε ἐκεῖνον. ἀλλ' οἵδε¹ μὲν δι' ἀφροσύνην ἀπώλοντο· τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους οὓς εἶπον, θεῶν παῖδας καὶ ἀπογόνους εἶπον. οὐκ ἂν οὖν οἱ θεοὶ τοῖς ἑαυτῶν παισὶ καὶ οὓς μάλιστα ἐφίλουν ταχεῖαν ἐποίησαν τὴν τελευτὴν, εἰ μὴ ἀγαθὸν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τοῦτο ἐτίθεντο.

21 Ταῦτα οὖν, ὡς ἄνδρες, λογιζομένους ὑμᾶς ἐκεῖνόν τε ὡς μακάριον νομίζειν χρὴ καὶ αὐτοὺς μηδὲν ἥττον διὰ τοῦτο ἐφίεσθαι τῶν πόνων καὶ τῆς φιλοτιμίας, ὡς, εἴ τινι συμπέσοι τελευτῆσαι ταχύτερον, ἀνόνητος ἐσόμενος τῶν ἀγαθῶν τινος·

¹ οἵδε Arnim: οἵδε M, οἱ UB.

¹ Hippolytus, beloved by Phaedra, wife of his father Theseus; he was devoted to the chase.

² Cf. Homer, *Odyssey* 11. 310.

THE TWENTY-NINTH DISCOURSE

Troy for the reasons that he did. Hippolytus¹ did have self-control, but it is not clear whether or not he had manly courage, since hunting is no real proof of it.

But the man who actually gained all the blessings found among mankind must be worthy to be accounted happy in his death also. For if the longest possible time were best for man, we might well have lamented over him in that regard; but as it is, seeing that all the life given to man is but short, you will find that with very many men it would have been much better if they had died sooner, so many are the misfortunes that overtake them. Again, in the case of the most eminent men of ancient times, history tell us that none of them reached a great age, neither Patroclus nor Antilochus, and further, neither Sarpedon, nor Memnon, nor Achilles, nor Hippolytus; nor the Boeotians, Otus and Ephialtes, who, Homer says, were the tallest and handsomest men ever born next to Orion,² nor Orion³ himself. But these men perished owing to their folly, while the others whom I have mentioned were called by men children and offspring of gods. Now the gods would not have given an early death to their own children and those whom they especially loved if they did not consider this a good thing for mankind.

Therefore, sirs, you should take these considerations into account and regard him as blessed, and should yourselves therefore be none the less eager for toil and the distinction it brings, since you may be sure that, if it should be anyone's lot to die too soon, he will be without part in any of these blessings; for the man

¹ Handsome Boeotian giant and hunter. Placed among the stars after his death.

DIO CHrysostom

δόξης τυχών μεστὸς ἅπεισι τῶν ἀγαθῶν· ἀλλὰ καὶ γυμνάζεσθε προθύμως καὶ πονεῖτε, οἱ μὲν νεώτεροι νομίζοντες αὐτοῖς ἀπολελεῖφθαι τὴν ἐκείνου χώραν, οἱ δὲ πρεσβύτεροι τῶν ἰδίων ἔργων ἀξίωσ. καὶ φρονεῖτε δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ὅσον χρὴ ἄνδρας¹ πρὸς ἐπαινον καὶ δόξαν ἀγαθὴν βιοῦντας καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς ὅντας 22 ἀσκητάς. τὸν δὲ ἀποιχόμειον μνήμη τιμᾶτε, μὴ δάκρυσιν· οὐ γὺρ πρέποι ἂν ἵδε ἡ τιμὴ γενναίοις ὑπὸ γενναίων, οὐδὲ ἂν "Ομηροι ἐπαινέσαιμι, ὅτι φησὶ δεύεσθαι τάς τε φαμάθους καὶ τὰ ὅπλα τοῖς δάκρυσι τῶν Ἀχαιῶν. ἀλλὰ ἐκεῖνος μὲν ποιητικῇ μᾶλλον ἡκολούθησεν ἵδοντῇ, θρήνων ὑπερβολὰς ἐπιδειξάμενος, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐγκρατῶς φέρετε.

¹ ἄνδρας Moroī: ἄνδρος.

THE TWENTY-NINTH DISCOURSE

who gains fair renown departs laden with blessings. Come then, train zealously and toil hard, the younger men in the belief that this man's place has been left to them, the older in a way that befits their own achievements ; yes, and take all the pride in these things that men should who live for praise and glory and are devotees of virtue. And as for the departed, honour him by remembrance, not by tears ; for that tribute would not be a seemly one for noble men to give a noble man, nor should I commend Homer for saying that the sands and their armour were bedewed with the tears of the Achaeans.¹ However, he aimed rather to give poetic pleasure when he pictured excessive lamenting, but do you bear your grief with self-control.

¹ See Homer, *Iliad* 23. 15 f.



THE THIRTIETH DISCOURSE: CHARIDEMUS

At the beginning Dio is speaking with a certain Timarchus and the younger of his two sons, also named Timarchus, about the death of the older son, Charidemus, who had had a great love and admiration for Dio. From the father Dio learns that Charidemus shortly before his death had dictated an address for the consolation of his father, brother, and friends. On learning this Dio at once urges the father to read the address to him and the father complies.

In this address three possible explanations of the life of man are offered. According to the first one, §§ 10–24, this world is a prison in which men are punished by the gods, who hate them because they are of the blood of the Titans. When any man's punishment is completed, or he has left a son to suffer punishment in his stead, he is allowed to escape by death. According to the second explanation, §§ 26–27, this world is a colony founded by the gods for men, their descendants, whom at first they kept under their protection, but afterwards allowed to shift for themselves. The third explanation regards this world as a beautiful palace where men live happily at a banquet from which God summons to himself those who have consoled themselves best.

After hearing this address Dio commends it highly and attempts to console the bereaved father and the younger son.

In form this Discourse is a dialogue reported directly, which contains a verbatim report of the address, which, in its turn, is made up almost entirely of indirect reports of what certain men, not definitely indicated, have said in explanation of man's life in this world. The important part of the discourse is, of course, Charidemus' address, which gives these three explanations, while the conversation between Dio and the two bereaved ones is merely a framework to hold it. In

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

Plato's *Phaedo* also, which according to Philostratus (*Lives of Sophists*, 8. 1 f. K.) was Dio's favourite book on philosophy, the important part consists of the last words of Socrates as reported by Phaedo to his friend Echecrates. Corresponding to these last words of Socrates we have here the deathbed message of Charidemus. And further, Charidemus shows in the face of death the same fortitude and resignation that Socrates did.

But did such a person as Charidemus, Dio's ideal of a young religious philosopher, ever have an existence, as Socrates did; or have we merely a product of the imagination? von Arnim feels sure that he is a real character, while others are not so certain. On this point there is the same difference of opinion as there is regarding the actuality of Melanomas, Dio's ideal young athlete. All, however, seem agreed that the conversation between Dio and the two bereaved is fictitious. But those who believe that Charidemus is a real character have next to consider whether the address on the life of man is really his work, modified perhaps by Dio, or whether it is altogether Dio's. von Arnim thinks that the address is not at all like any of Dio's work, but Friedrich Wilhelm (*Philologus*, vol. 75, 1918, pp. 364–365) has pointed out enough ideas of Dio's in it that are found in other Discourses of his, and also enough of his familiar words and phrases, to refute this view.

In the next place, can we identify the man who, Charidemus says, offered him the explanation that this world is a prison? Dümmler (*Academica*, p. 90 f.) and Hagen (*Quæstiones Dionæae*, p. 21) suggest that he is the Cynic philosopher Antisthenes, while Friedrich Wilhelm (*loc. cit.*, p. 367, footnote) maintains that he is a fictitious character. But we note that, although Charidemus begins giving this explanation with § 10, he gives no hint of its source until he reaches the end of § 19, where, as if forgetting himself for the moment, he speaks as if it were his own. Then, at the beginning of § 20, he credits a wandering philosopher with giving him when a child some details about the chain to which all men are bound. After giving these details and ~~the~~ ^{the} first explanation of man's life, Charidemus says: he believes this explanation comes from 'some morose man who had suffered a great deal in his life and only late had gained true education' (just like the two dogs in Discourse 7. 17).—It is this description of the man which makes Dümmler, Hagen, and Sonny

THIRTIETH DISCOURSE : CHARIDEMUS

think of Antisthenes. Now is Charidemus crediting this 'morose man' with the first explanation as a whole, or only with the part beginning with § 20? If the latter is the case, and the 'wandering philosopher' is identical with the 'morose man,' then Dio himself answers fairly well to this description. For Dio became a wandering philosopher during his exile and only then, as he believed, got true education, when he was 42 years of age or older. This would be 'late in life' for getting an education; or does he mean that this 'morose man' learned later not to regard this world as a prison? And it may well be that he was made 'morose' for the time being from having 'suffered a great deal in his life.' Is Dio thinking of himself when he uses these words, just as he is in Discourse 12. 51, where he speaks of a 'sore distressed soul, having in the course of life drained the cup of many misfortunes and griefs, nor ever winning sweet sleep'? And besides, would not the injustice of his exile and the hardships which he endured tend to make him have a gloomy outlook on life and accept the opinions of those who regarded this world as a prison?

Of course, when we identify the 'morose' man with the 'wandering philosopher' where the world is spoke to any one person, but it the man believing the second part of the first explanation would accept the first part also, especially as the idea of men being bound to a chain is common to both. On the other hand, if we think of the 'morose man' as not identical with the 'wandering philosopher,' then in this morose man with his many sufferings in life we still have a fairly good description of the exiled Dio with only the one detail of his wandering life lacking, and the first explanation as a whole is definitely ascribed to him.

Once more, who is the 'peasant,' also mentioned in § 25, 'who spoke with a very rustic drawl and accent,' the one from whom Charidemus says he heard the second and third explanations? Dümmler believes that it was one of the later Cynics, possibly Bion; but Sonny, while agreeing in the main, thinks that this later Cynic was more likely Cleanthes, because the man is described as a peasant. For Diogenes Laertius (7. 2, pp. 168-171) says that Cleanthes made his living by watering a garden and digging earth. And further, the words 'in praise of Zeus and the other gods' may refer to Cleanthes'

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

Hymn to Zeus. Friedrich Wilhelm, on the other hand, thinks that this peasant is a purely imaginary character.

But no matter how we identify the 'morose man' and the 'peasant,' it seems reasonable to suppose that the three explanations of life represent three stages in Dio's own belief. After returning from exile he naturally acquired a more cheerful outlook on life and came to think of the gods as merely having become indifferent to men, and then later the prison has become a beautiful palace in which the king of the gods gives royal entertainment to men and rewards the best. Yet some parts of Dio's belief did not change. He believed throughout that the gods exist, that they have something to do with man, and that man may overcome evil and receive his reward.

And finally, there is the question as to the immediate and the ultimate sources of these three explanations of life and this world. Of course, if we believe that Antisthenes, the founder of the Cynic sect, offered the first and Cleanthes the second and third, for us a good deal of the question is settled. If we do not, then there is a great uncertainty. However, it has been shown that the idea of the world as a prison is Pythagorean and Orphic in origin,¹ while Friedrich Wilhelm has offered a good many reasons for believing that Dio drew upon Poseidonius for parts of all three explanations, although he with others thinks that there is a large Cynic element in the third. And since there are some thoughts that can be paralleled in Xenophon and Plato, it is reasonable to suppose that Dio drew to some extent also from these, his favourite authors.

¹ See K. Meiser in *Quellen und Studien aus d. englischen Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Philol. Kl., 1912, 3. Abh.



30. ΧΛΡΙΔΗΜΟΣ

1 Δ. Ἀκηκόειν μὲν καὶ πρότερον πρὸν ὑμᾶς
 ἰδεῖν πρὸ ἵκανοῦ περὶ τῆς Χαριδίμου τελευτῆς.
 εὐθὺς γὰρ ἐπυνθανόμην, ὡς παιρέβιαλον δευρί,
 περὶ τε ἄλλων τινῶν καὶ μιάλιστα δὴ περὶ τούτων
 ἀμφοτέρων, ὅπου τε εἶεν καὶ ὃ τι πράττοιεν
 καὶ μοί τις ἐντυχὼν¹ οὐ πάντα τι αὐτοὺς ἐπιστά-
 μενος, ἀλλ’ ὅσον ἀκοῦσαι² τὰ δινόμιατα, ἡρώτησεν
 εἰ τοὺς Τιμάρχου νίεῖς λέγω· κάμιοῦ φήσαντος,
 τοῦτον ἐδήλου, τὸν νεώτερον δὴ λέγων, ἐν Μεσσήνῃ
 ἔτι εἶναι μετὰ σοῦ διὰ τὸ πένθος τάδελφοῦ.

2 τελευτῆσαι γὰρ αὐτοῖν τὸν πρεσβύτερον. φανερὸς
 οὖν ἦν Χαριδημον ἀπαγγέλλων τεθνηκέναι· καὶ
 τότε μὲν ἐδόκει καὶ ἀμφιβολίᾳ τις εἶναι, καίτοι
 σαφῶς τάνθρώπου εἰρηκότος· αὗθις δὲ ἀκριβέ-
 στερον ἔγνωμεν. καὶ οἷμαί γε ἐμαυτὸν οὐ πολὺ³
 τι ἔλαττον ὑμῶν δηχθῆναι· τὸ μὲν γὰρ μᾶλλον
 φάναι οὐ θεμιτὸν οὐδὲ ὅσιον ἡμῶν, εἴ τις ἐκεῖνον
 μᾶλλον ἐφίλει ὑμῶν τοῦ τε πατρὸς καὶ ἀδελφοῦ.

3 καίτοι οὐ μέγα ἴσχύειν ἔοικεν ἡ φύσις ἐν τοῖς
 φαύλοις· οἶόν τι καὶ περὶ τοῦτον τὸν Ὁπούντιον

¹ Arnim: ἐνέτυχεν.

² ἀλλ’ ὅσον ἀκοῦσαι Dindorf: ἀλλὰ σὲ ἀκοῦσαι Μ, ἀλλ’ ὡς
 ἥκουσε γὰρ Β.

¹ He is addressing Timarchus the father.

² A slight exaggeration, as we see from the next words.

THE THIRTIETH DISCOURSE: CHARIDEMUS

Dio. I had heard about the death of Charidemus some time ago, even before I saw you;¹ for when I landed here, I straightway made inquiries about certain other persons and most especially about these two, wishing to learn where they were and how they were getting on. Then I chanced upon a man who did not know them very well, but had merely heard their names,² who asked me if I meant the sons of Timarchus; and when I replied in the affirmative, he told me that this one, meaning the younger, was still in Messenia with you on account of his mourning for his brother; for, he said, the elder of the two had died. So it was clear that he was reporting the death of Charidemus. Yet even then there appeared to be some uncertainty, although the man had spoken clearly enough; but afterwards we came to know with more certainty. Now I believe that I myself was almost as deeply pained as you men were; for to say 'more pained' would not be right nor proper for me, even if it were indeed true that one had loved him more than you, his father and his brother, did. And yet the strength of natural affection does seem to be not very great in persons of the common sort. Something like this happened, I hear, in the case of our Opuntian³

¹ That is, from Opus, a town of Locris.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

ἀκούω γεγονέναι χαρίεντα καὶ κομψὸν νεανίσκον
ἀποβαλόντα, ἡμέτερον κάκεῖνον ἔταιρον· ἀλλ'
ὅμως ἔλαττον αὐτὸν λυπηθῆναι φασιν ἢ εἴ τι
ἄλλο τῶν ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας ἀπολωλέκει. ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς γε
πάνυ ἐοίκατον ἀχθομένῳ τῇ συμφορᾷ· καὶ οὐδὲν
θαυμαστόν· ἐπεὶ καὶ τῇ πόλει ὑμῶν καὶ τῇ
Ἐλλάδι πάσῃ ὥφελμος ἦν τοιοῦτος ἀνὴρ ἐν
τῷ βίῳ διαγενόμενος οἶος δὴ Χαρίδημος τάχα
ἔμελλεν ἔσεσθαι. οὐ γάρ ἔγωγε ἐκείνου μειρακίου
ὄντος οὐδένα ἔγνων εὑψυχότερον οὐδὲ ἄμεινον
πεφυκότα.

4. Τ. Εἴ γε ἥδεις ὅπως διέκειτο πρὸς σέ, πολὺ¹
ἄν μᾶλλον ἐνεκωμίαζες αὐτόν. ἐμοὶ μὲν γὰρ
ἔδόκει κάμοῦ τοῦ πατρός, οὐ μόνον τῶν ἄλλων
ἀνθρώπων σὲ προτιμᾶν, ὃς γε καὶ ἐν τῇ νόσῳ
κάπειδὴ πρὸς αὐτῷ σχεδόν τι τῷ θανάτῳ ἦν,
καὶ ἡμῶν ἔνδον ὄντων καὶ ἄλλων ξυγγενῶν καὶ
πολιτῶν καὶ γνωρίμων σὲ ὠνόμαζε, τὸ παράπαν
πάνυ μόλις ἥδη φθειγγόμενος, καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐκέλευε
λέγειν; ὅταν σοι ἐντύχωμεν, ὅτι σοῦ μεμνημένος
ἐτελεύτα. καὶ γὰρ τὸ συνεῖναι αὐτῷ καὶ δια-
λέγεσθαι ἔως ὑστάτου παρέμεινεν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ
καὶ ζῶν οὕτω διέκειτο ὥστε καὶ τῇ σιωπῇ καὶ τῷ
βαδίσματι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πᾶσί σε ἐμιμέῖτο, ὡς
ἔλεγον οἱ εἰδότες.

5. Δ. Οὕτοι ταῦτα ἐμιμεῖτο ἐκεῖνος οὕτε ἐμὲ
οὕτε ἄλλον οὐδένα, ἀλλ' οὕτως πεφύκει. πρότερον
δὲ ἵσως ὑμᾶς ἔτι παῖς ὣν ἐλάνθανεν· ἐπειτα
προϊὼν ἐκδηλότερος ἐγένετο. πολὺ γὰρ μᾶλλον

¹ Dio says at the beginning of Discourse 7 that he is garrulous in his old age after returning from exile; and this

THIRTIETH DISCOURSE : CHARIDEMUS

friend here after he had lost a son, an agreeable and clever young man, who also was our companion; but nevertheless they tell me that he grieved less over his death than if he had lost anything else out of his house. You two, however, seem to be very much distressed by your affliction, and no wonder; for such a man as Charidemus certainly would speedily have turned out to be, would have been useful, not only to your city, but to all Hellas, if he had lived. I, for my part, never knew any young lad of higher spirit than he nor of better natural parts.

Timarchus. Yes, and if you knew how he felt towards you, your praise would be much warmer. It seemed to me that he held you in more honour than he did even me, his father, not to mention other people, since in his illness and even when he was practically at death's door, and we were at his bedside along with other relatives, fellow citizens and acquaintances, he kept mentioning you by name, although by then he could scarcely speak at all, and bade us say when we met you that he was thinking of you when he died. For he retained consciousness and the power to speak up to the very last. Furthermore, even when he was alive and well, he was so attached to you that he imitated you in his taciturnity,¹ his gait, and in all other respects, as people who knew used to say.

Dio. Oh no, he was not imitating in those matters either me or anybody else; but they were natural with him. Perhaps you did not notice it at first when he was still a child; then as he grew older, it became more marked. For a manly and dignified

present Discourse evidently belongs to this same post-exilic period.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

έκείνῳ ἔπρεπεν ἢ ἄλλῳ τινὶ τό τε ἀνδρεῖον καὶ τὸ σεμιὸν τοῦ σχῆματος. ἄλλὰ μή τι ύμᾶς ἐλύπει τούτοις ἢ σκυθρωπότερος ύμῖν ἐφαίνετο;

Τ. Ἐμοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἐδόκει τούναντίον πολλῶν Ἰλαρώτερος καὶ πρὸς τὸ παιζειν ἔτοιμος, ὅσαι ἐλευθέριοι παιδιά, καὶ ᾧ πως μειδιάν πρὸς τοὺς συνήθεις. γελῶντα δὲ αὐτὸν ἀνέδην οὐ πολλάκις εἶδον. οὐδὲν οὖν ἡμᾶς ἐλύπει. καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐπηγεῦτο ύπὸ πολλῶν καὶ μᾶλλον ἔκεινον ἡσχύνοιτο οἱ πολῖται δύο καὶ εἴκοσι ἑταῖροι· τοσούτων γὰρ ἐτελεύτησεν· ἢ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους τε καὶ ἐνδόξυνς.

6 Δ. Ἀλλ' ἡ¹ τι ἄλλο ύμῶν ἐπέστειλεν ἢ διελέχθη τελευτῶν;

Τ. Πολλὰ καὶ δαιμόνια, ὡς γε² ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ πατρὶ ὅντι.³ ὃς γε ἐν τούτῳ τῆς ἡλικίας ἐκ τοῦ βίου μεθιστάμενος οὐχ ὅπως ὠλοφύρατο αὐτὸν ἢ λυπουμένῳ ἐώκει, ἄλλὰ τούναντίον ἡμᾶς παρεμψεῦτο. καὶ τά γε τελευταῖα τὸν παῖδα καλέσας ἐκέλευε γράφειν, ὥσπερ ἐνθουσιῶν, παράκλησίν τινα ἡμῖν, ὥστε ύπενδον ἐγὼ μὴ ἄρα ἐξεστηκὼς ἥδη διὰ τὸν θάνατον ταῦτα ποιοῦ· πλὴν ὅτι οἱ παρόντες θαυμαστῶς ἐπήγνουν.

Δ. Ἐχεις οὖν τὰ γεγραμμένα;

7 Τ. Πῶς γὰρ οῦ;

Δ. Θέλεις οὖν⁴ εἰπεῖν;

Τ. Ἀλλ' αἰσχύνομαι μὴ οὐκ ὅρθῶς ἔχῃ, ὡς ύπὸ νεωτέρου τε καὶ ἐν τοιούτῳ καιρῷ εἰρημένα.

¹ ἢ Reiske: εἰ.

² ὡς γε Selden: ὥστε.

³ πατρὶ ὅντι Selden: πάτριόν τι.

⁴ Θέλεις οὖν Emperius: κέλευσον.

THIRTIETH DISCOURSE: CHARIDEMUS

bearing came much more naturally to him than to anybody else. But I wonder if he pained you at all by these characteristics or appeared to you to be somewhat gloomy of countenance.

Tim. No, on the contrary, I thought that he was more cheerful than many and ready to play such games as were proper for free-born children, and always somehow ready to give a smile to people whom he knew; but I did not often see him laughing without restraint. So he caused us no worry; and what is more, he won the commendation of many people, and our fellow citizens had more respect for him, although he was only twenty-two years old—for that was his age when he died—than they had for those who were older and in the public eye.

Dio. But did he give you any other commission or say anything else on his death-bed?

Tim. Yes, many remarkable things—at least, so I, his father, think. For, although he was departing from life at such an early age, so far was he from lamenting his fate or showing any grief that on the contrary he tried to comfort us. Then finally, he called the servant and dictated to him, like one inspired, an address for our consolation, so that I began to suspect that perhaps it was because his mind was now wandering on account of the nearness of death that he was doing this. Those who were at his bedside, though, praised it highly.

Dio. Pray, have you what he wrote?

Tim. Yes, indeed.

Dio. Then are you willing to repeat it?

Tim. O yes, only ashamed for fear that it is not in proper shape, because it was spoken by a comparatively young man and at such a time. For I

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἐδόκει μοι μᾶλλον ἐνὸς σοῦ παρόντος ἂν εὐλαβηθῆναι ὅ τι εἴπεν¹ ἢ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων.

Δ. Οὐ πρὸς ἄλλότριον ἀναγνώσῃ, ὡς βέλτιστε,
καὶ ἂμα οὐ τὴν ἔρμηνείαν ποθῶ γνῶναι τοσοῦτον
ὅσον τὴν διάνοιαν ἀφ' ἧς ἔλεγεν, εἰ τῷ ὅντι εὐθύμως
καὶ θαρρῶν ἀπέθνησκεν.

8 Τ. Ἄλλ' ἔστι ταῦτα.

οὐ λόγος τοῦ Χαριδήμου τελευτῶντος²

Τὰ μὲν καθ' ἡμᾶς οὕτω γέγονεν ὡς ἔδοξε
τῷ θεῷ, χρὴ δὲ μηδὲν τῶν ὑπ' ἐκείνου γιγνομένων
χαλεπὸν ἥγεισθαι μηδὲ δυσχερῶς φέρειν, ὡς
παραινοῦσιν ἄλλοι τε σοφοί καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα
“Ομηρος, λέγων μηδαμῇ ἀπόβλητα εἶναι ἀνθρώποις
τὰ θεῶν δῶρα, καλῶς δύνομάζων δῶρα τὰ ἔργα
τῶν θεῶν, ὡς ἀπαντα ἀγαθὰ ὅντα καὶ ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ
9 γιγνόμενα. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν οὕτω φρονῶ καὶ δέχομαι
πράως τὴν πεπρωμένην, οὐκ ἐν ἑτέρῳ καιρῷ
ταῦτα λέγων, ἀλλὰ παρούσης τε αὐτῆς. καὶ τὴν
τελευτὴν δρῶν οὕτως ἐγγύθεν. ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐμοὶ
πιστεύοντες, ἐπειδὴ καὶ μᾶλλον ὑμῶν ἐπεμελή-
θην ἀληθείας, καθ' ὃσον οἷοί τέ ἔστε, μὴ συγ-
χωρεῖτε τῇ ἀλγηδόνι, ὡς μηδενὸς ἐμοὶ δεινοῦ
συμβεβηκότος, μηδὲ εἴ τις ἐπὶ τὸν δυσχερέστατον
ἔλθοι τῶν λόγων.

¹ ὅ τι εἴπεν Capps: τι εἴπειν.

² The heading is supplied by the translator.

¹ Hagen points out that there are certain places where Dio puts his own ideas into the mouth of someone else. See, e.g. Discourse I. 56 ff.; II. 37 ff.; 36. 39 ff.

THIRTIETH DISCOURSE : CHARIDEMUS

really thought that he would have been more careful in what he said, had you been the only one present, than he was with all the rest there.

Dio. It is no outsider that you will be reading to, my good friend ; and, at the same time, it is not the style that I am anxious to observe so much as what his state of mind was as revealed by what he said, whether he was really of good cheer and courageous on his deathbed.

Tim. Well, here it is :¹

The Dying Words of Charidemus

" What has happened to me has happened in accordance with God's will; and we should not consider anything that he brings to pass as harsh, nor bear it with repining: so wise men advise us,² and Homer not least when he says that the gifts of the gods to man should not be spurned by man³—rightly calling the acts of the gods ' gifts,' as being all good and done for a good purpose.⁴ As for me, this is my feeling, and I accept the decree of fate calmly, saying this, not at any ordinary time, but when that fate itself is present, and I see my end so near at hand. And do you, I pray, believe me, since I have had even greater concern for the truth than for you, and, so far as in you lies, do not give way to your grief, knowing that nothing terrible has befallen me ; no, not even if one offers the explanation of death which is the most difficult to accept.

² See *Theognis* 1001; *Euripides, Hypsipyle*, Frag. 757 Nauck.²

³ See *Iliad* 3. 65.

⁴ Cf. Discourse 23. 10; 32. 14; *Plato, Republic* 380 c.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

10 Λέξω δὲ αὐτὸν ὅμινον οὕτι που τερπνὸν ὅντα
 οὐδὲ χαρίεντα· οὐ γάρ, οἶμαι, πρὸς χάριν τὴν
 ἡμετέραν γέγονεν· ἔχοντα δέ τι θαυμαστὸν ἵσως.
 ὅτι τοῦ τῶν Τιτάνων αἷματός ἐσμεν ἡμεῖς ἀπαντεῖς
 οἱ ἄνθρωποι. ὡς οὖν ἐκείνων ἔχθρῶν ὅντων
 τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ πολεμησάντων οὐδὲ ἡμεῖς φίλοι
 ἐσμέν, ἀλλὰ κολαζύμεθά τε ὑπ’ αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπὶ¹
 τιμωρίᾳ γεγόναμεν, ἐν φρυνρῷ δὴ ὅντες ἐν τῷ
 βίῳ τοσοῦτον χρόνον ὅσον ἔκιντοι ζῶμεν. τοὺς
 δὲ ἀποθνήσκοντας ἡμῶν κεκολασμένους ἥδη ἱκανῶς
 λύεσθαι τε καὶ ἀπαλλάττεσθαι.

11 Εἶναι δὲ τὸν μὲν τόπον τοῦτον, ὃν κόσμον
 ὀνομάζομεν, δεσμωτήριον ὑπὸ τῶν Θεῶν κατ-
 εσκευασμένον χαλεπόν τε καὶ δυσάερον, οὐδέποτε
 τὴν αὐτὴν κράσιν τε καὶ στάσιν τοῦ ἀέρος
 φυλάττον, ἀλλὰ ποτὲ μὲν ψυχρόν τε καὶ
 παγερόν, ἀνέμου τε καὶ πηλοῦ καὶ χιόνος καὶ
 ὕδατος ἐμπεπλησμένον, ποτὲ δὲ αὖ θερμόν τε
 καὶ πυρητρόν· μικρὸν δέ τινα παντελῶς καιρὸν
 τοῦ ἔτους μετρίως ἔχειν· καταπίπτειν δὲ καὶ
 πρηστῆρας ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ τυφῶνας ἐγγίγνεσθαι
 καὶ πολλάκις σείεσθαι κάτωθεν ὅλον. ταῦτα δὲ

12 πάντα εἶναι κολάσεις δεινάς. ἐκπλήγτεσθαι
 γὰρ ἔκάστοτε ὑπ’ αὐτῶν καὶ φοβεῖσθαι τοὺς
 ἄνθρωπους, ὅπότε συμβαίνοι. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις

¹ After warring against the gods for ten years they were defeated and hurled into a cavity below Tartarus. Cf. Lobeck, *Aglaophon* p. 565, where it is said that the bodies of the Titans were burned with fire from heaven and reduced to ashes and "that from these ashes of the Titans ancient readers of Orphic hymns assert that the human race sprang"—"Ex

THIRTIETH DISCOURSE : CHARIDEMUS

This explanation I will now give to you, although it is very likely not at all cheering, nor pleasing—for I imagine it was not devised to please us—and it has something of the marvellous about it perhaps. It is to the effect that all we human beings are of the blood of the Titans.¹ Then, because they were hateful to the gods and had waged war on them, we are not dear to them either, but are punished by them and have been born for chastisement, being, in truth, imprisoned in life for as long a time as we each live. And when any of us die, it means that we, having already been sufficiently chastised,² are released and go our way.

This place which we call the universe, they tell us, is a prison prepared by the gods,³ a grievous and ill-ventilated one, which never keeps the same temperature and condition of its air, but at one time is cold and frosty, and infected with wind, mud, snow, and water, and at another time again is hot and stifling; for just a very little time of the year it is endurable; it is visited by cyclones, typhoons occur, and sometimes the whole of it quakes to the very bottom. Now all these are terrible punishments. For men are invariably dismayed and terrified by them whenever they occur. Then in addition

hoc Titanio cinere genus humanum ortum praedicant Orphicorum carminum lectores antiqui."

¹ Cf. Plato, *Crit.* 110 b . . . 111 a . . . where Orpheus and his followers are credited with the idea . . . that the soul is punished in the body, its tomb.

² Cf. Plato, *Phaedo* 62 b: "The statement found in esoteric doctrines that we human beings are in a sort of prison"—δ . . . ἐν ἀπορρήτοις λεγόμενος . . . λόγος ὡς ἐν την φρουρᾷ ἔσμεν οἱ ἄνθρωποι, and *Gorgias* 493 a, where some Sicilian or Italian (Pythagoras presumably) is referred to in connection with the idea that the body is a tomb.

οὐκ ἀνεχομένους τοῦ ἀέρος τὴν φαυλότητα καὶ τὰς μεταβολὰς ἔτερα αὖ μηχανᾶσθαι μικρὰ δεσμωτήρια, τάς τε οἰκίας καὶ πόλεις, ξύλα καὶ λίθους ξυντιθέντας, ὥσπερ εἴ τις ἐν μεγάλῃ εἰρκτῇ ἔτέρας βραχυτέρας ἐνοικοδομοῖ.

Καὶ τὰ φυόμενα ταῦτα καὶ τὸν καρπὸν τὸν ἐκ γῆς ἔνεκα τοῦ παραμένειν ἡμᾶς γίγνεσθαι, καθάπερ δεσμώταις τροφὴν διδομένην ἀηδῆ τε καὶ φαύλην ἡμᾶς δὲ ἄλλως ἀγαπᾶν διὰ τὴν ἀνάγκην τε καὶ

13 ἀπορίαν. καὶ γὰρ τοῖς ὑφ' ἡμῶν κολαζομένοις, ἅττ' ἂν παράσχῃ τις, ὑπὸ λιμοῦ καὶ συνηθείας ἥδεα φαίνεσθαι. καὶ ταῦτα τὰ σιτία τῇ μὲν ἀληθείᾳ πονηρὰ εἶναι καὶ διεφθορότα, δηλοῦσθαι δὲ τὴν διαφθορὰν ἐκ τῆς τῶν σωμάτων ἀσθενείας. ἔπι δὲ μηδὲ ἐξ ἑτοίμου πορίζεσθαι μηδὲ πᾶσιν ἄφθονα ὑπάρχειν, ἀλλὰ μετὰ ἀμηχάνων πόνων καὶ κακῶν.

14 Ευγκεῖσθαι δὲ ἡμᾶς ἐξ αὐτῶν δὴ τῶν βασανιζόντων, ψυχῆς τε καὶ σώματος. τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἐπιθυμίας τε καὶ λύπας καὶ ὄργας καὶ φόβους καὶ φροντίδας καὶ μυρία πάθη τοιαῦτα ἔχειν ἐν ἑαυτῇ, καὶ δι' ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς ὑπὸ τούτων ἀεὶ κατατείνεσθαι καὶ στρεβλοῦσθαι. καὶ γὰρ ὅστις ἐπιεικέστερον διάκειται, καθόλου μὲν ἀπήλακται τούτων οὐδενός, ὥσπερ δὲ θηρία ἔνδον κατακεκλεισμένα ἔχει, μετὰ βίας ὁμοῦ καὶ πειθοῦς τινος ἡναγκασμένα ἡρεμεῖν. εἰ δὲ καὶ σμικρὸν παύσασι τούτων κατεπάδων καὶ προσέχων, αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα κινούμενα. τὸ δὲ σῶμα εἰλίγγους τε καὶ σπασμοὺς καὶ ἐπιληψίας καὶ τάλλα νοσήματα,

¹ Cf. Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura*, I. 206–217.

² Cf. Plato, *Gorgias* 493–494 about the desires within us.

THIRTIETH DISCOURSE : CHARIDEMUS

to all this, because men cannot endure the bad air and changes of temperature, they devise for themselves other small prisons, namely, their houses and cities, which they construct of timber and stone, just as if a person should build other smaller enclosures inside of a large one.

And the plants which grow all about us and the fruits of the earth are created, they assure us, simply in order that we may serve out our time here. They are just like the unappetizing and wretched food which is given to prisoners, but we nevertheless put up with it on account of the necessity which is upon us and our helplessness. For in the case of men who are being punished by us, whatever is furnished appears appetizing because they are hungry and used to it. These foods are in reality bad and spoiled, and that they are spoiled is shown by the frailty of our bodies. And, further, it is not even furnished us ready at hand, nor yet supplied in abundance to everyone, but must be won with intolerable toil and hardships.¹

“ Also, we are composed of the very things which torture us, namely, soul and body. For the one has within it desires, pains, angers, fears, worries, and countless such feelings ; and by day and by night it is ever racked and wrenched by them.² Even the man who is of a better bodily condition than most, is free from none whatever of these troubles, but has them shut up within him just like wild animals compelled to keep quiet by force and persuasion alike ; but if he stops singing charms to them and watching them, for even a short time, they instantly become very active. Our body too is subject to vertigo, convulsions, epilepsy, and other diseases, so numerous

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

ὅσα οὐδὲ τῷ λόγῳ δυνατὸν διελθεῖν, ὡς ἀν αἵματος καὶ πνεύματος μεστόν, ἔτι δὲ ἐκ σαρκῶν τε καὶ νεύρων καὶ δοτέων συγκείμενου, ἐκ μαλακῶν τε καὶ σκληρῶν καὶ υγρῶν καὶ ξηρῶν, ὅντων¹ ἐναντιωτάτων. τά τε σιτία, ὅπερ εἶπον, μοχθηρὰ ὅντα καὶ τὸν ἀέρα ἀνώμαλον προσπίπτοντα τὰς μὲν ἐπιτείνειν τῶν νόσων, τὰς δὲ ἀνακινεῖν, οὐ δοκούσας μὲν εἶναι πρότερον, ἐνούσας δὲ ἐν

16 τῇ φύσει τῶν σωμάτων. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἔνδον ἐγκεῖσθαι τὰ κακὰ ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς, ἑτέρας δὲ ἐξωθεν κολάσεις, ἐλαφροτέρας,² εἴ τις αὐτὰς παραβάλλοι ταῖς ἐκ τῆς φύσεως. ή γὰρ πυρός τε καὶ σιδήρου φύσις καὶ πληγῶν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὀξεῖα καὶ ταχὺ ἀπαλλάττει τῆς αἰσθήσεως, εἴ τις καὶ σμικρὸν ὑπερβάλοι· ἐν δὲ ταῖς νόσοις ἐνίστε παρατείνουσι καὶ πάνυ πολὺν χρόνον.

17 Τοιαῦσδε μὲν δὴ καὶ τοσαῦσδε βασάνοις ἔυνεχομένους τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐν τῇδε τῇ φρουρᾷ καὶ τῷδε τῷ δεσμωτηρίᾳ μένειν τὸν τεταγμένον ἔκαστον χρόνον, καὶ μὴ πρὶν ἀπιέναι τοὺς πολλοὺς πρὶν ἀν ἐξ αὐτοῦ ποιησάμενος ἄλλον ἀνθ' ἑαυτοῦ καταλίπῃ διάδοχον τῆς κολάσεως, οἱ μὲν ἔνα, οἱ δὲ καὶ πλείους. μένειν δὲ οὐχ ἐκόντας, ἀλλὰ μιᾶ πάντας ἀλύσει δεδέσθαι τά τε σώματα καὶ τὰς ψυχάς, καθάπερ καὶ ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἰδεῖν ἔστιν ἐν ἀλύσει μιᾶ δεδεμένους πολλοὺς ἐφεξῆς, τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν σμικρούς, τοὺς δὲ μεγάλους, καὶ τοὺς μὲν αἰσχρούς, τοὺς δ' εὐπρεπεῖς, οὐδὲν δὲ ἥπτον ἄπαντας ἐπ' ἵσης ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἀνάγκῃ ἔχεσθαι.

¹ ὅντων Cohoon: ἐκ τῶν.

THIRTIETH DISCOURSE : CHARIDEMUS

that it is not even possible to enumerate them, since it is full of blood and air, and, further, is composed of flesh and sinews and bones, of both soft and hard things, of moist and dry things, complete opposites. Then our foods, as I said, being bad and the weather variable, aggravate some of our diseases and bring on others, which, though they do not seem to be there at first, yet are actually inherent in the nature of our bodies. These are the evils which lie within our own selves. The other chastisements, which come from without, are lighter in comparison with those that come from our own nature. For the effect of fire or steel, of blows, or of other things is sharp and quickly passes from consciousness even if it becomes at any time a little excessive. But in the case of diseases sometimes the effects last for a very long time.¹

" Such, then, are the tortures, and so numerous, by which men are afflicted while they remain in this prison and dungeon, each for his appointed time; and the majority do not get out until they produce another person from their own loins and leave him to succeed to the punishment in their stead, some leaving one and others even more. They do not stay voluntarily, but are all bound fast by one chain, body and soul, just as you may see many persons bound by us by one chain in a row, some of them small, some large, some ugly and some good looking; but none the less all of them are held on equal terms in the same constraint.²

¹ Dio is speaking from personal experience.

² Cf. Discourse 80. 7.

² ἐλαφροτέρας added by Cohoon; Arnim wrote ἐλαφρότερας in place of ἐτέρας.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

18 Ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ταῖς τύχαις τε καὶ δόξαις καὶ τιμαῖς ἀλλήλων ὑπερέχειν, ὡσπερ τοῦς σώμασιν. εἶναι γὰρ τοὺς μὲν βασιλέας, τοὺς δὲ ἴδιώτας, καὶ τοὺς μὲν πλουσίους, τοὺς δὲ ἀπόρους. καὶ οὐδέν γε παρὰ τοῦτο ἔλαττον κακοπαθεῖν καὶ συνέχεσθαι τῷ αὐτῷ δεσμῷ τοὺς εὐδαίμονας καλούμενους τῶν πενήτων τε καὶ ἀδόξων, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τούτων ἐκείνους. ἵσχυντέροις γὰρ οὓσιν αὐτοῖς κεχαλάσθαι τὸν δεσμὸν καὶ λαγαρώτερον ἕκαστῳ περικεῖσθαι· τοῖς δὲ βασιλεῦσι καὶ τυράννοις, οἷα δὴ πεφυσημένοις τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ σφόδρᾳ εὐεκτοῦσι, μᾶλλον ἐγκεῖσθαι καὶ θλίβειν. ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς τὰ σώματα δεδεμένοις τοὺς παχεῖς τε καὶ ὄγκωδεις τῶν λεπτῶν τε καὶ ἀτρόφων μᾶλλον ὁ δεσμὸς πιέζει· τινὰς μέντοι καὶ λίαν ὀλίγους πάρεστιν τινα ἔχειν ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ δεδέσθαι μέν, ἐλαφρῶς δὲ πάνυ δι' ἐπιείκειαν. ὑπὲρ ᾧν αὐθις λέξομεν.

20 Πρότερον δὲ εἰπεῖν ἄξιον, ὡς ἐγώ ποτε ἥκουσα ἀνδρὸς ἀγύρτου παῖς ᾧν, ὅποιαν τινὰ ἔφασκεν εἶναι τὴν ἄλυσιν, οὕτι που ταῦσδε ὅμοιαν, ἐκ σιδῆρου τε καὶ χαλκοῦ πεποιημένην, πολὺ μέντοι κραταιοτέραν, τὸ δὲ σχῆμα καὶ τὴν πλοκὴν παραπλησίαν. ὥσπερ γὰρ αἵδε εἰσὶν ἐκ κρίκων τιῶν κεχαλκευμέναι δι' ἀλλήλων διαβεβλημένων, καὶ τοῦτο ἀπ' ἀρχῆς μέχρι τέλους· οὕτω δὴ κάκείνην

¹ Cf. Discourse 80. 11 ff. and Seneca, *De Tranquillitate Animi* 10. 3: "We are all bound to fortune: the chain of some is golden, of others loose, of yet others tight and foul. But what difference does it make? The same custody surrounds all without exception. . . . One man public office binds, another wealth. Some men bear the weight

THIRTIETH DISCOURSE : CHARIDEMUS

" And, likewise, men are superior one to the other in their fortunes, reputations, and honours, just as they are in their bodies. Some of them are kings, others are in private station, some are wealthy, and others are without means. Yet no whit less on this account do the fortunate, as they are called, suffer and are held fast in the same bondage, than do the poor and unknown, nay, they suffer more than the others.¹ For since the poor are leaner, the bond which lies about each of them is looser and easier. But as for kings and tyrants, just because they are puffed up in soul and are in exceedingly good bodily condition, so the chains lie heavier upon them and gall them the more ; exactly as in the case of persons whose bodies are bound, the fetter pinches the stout and bulky more than it does the thin and under-nourished. However, a very few enjoy some relief by the kindness of God ; and while they are indeed bound, yet the bond is very light on account of their goodness—a class of men concerning whom we shall speak again.²

" But first it is right to say that once when a child I heard a wandering philosopher explain what the nature of the chain is, that it is not at all like such chains as we have, made of iron or bronze as our chains are, but much stronger, and yet similar in form and construction. For just as our chains are forged out of a number of links that are interlocked with one another, and that from one end to the other ;

of high station, others of low"—*cum fortuna copulati sumus : aliorum aurea catena est, aliorum laxa, aliorum arta et sordida, sed quid refert ? eadem custodia universos circumdedit . . . alium honores, alium opes vincunt. quosdam nobilitas, quosdam humilitas premit.*

² He does so in § 24.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

21 ἔχειν, γῇ δὴ ἔφαμεν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν δεδέσθαι. συνηρτῆσθαι δὲ αὐτὴν ἅπασαν ἐξ ἡδονῆς τε καὶ λύπης, καὶ ταῦτα ἐξ ἀλλήλων πεπλέχθαι, τό τε ἡδὺ καὶ λυπηρόν, καὶ τῷ ἐτέρῳ τὸ ἐτερον ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἀεὶ ἀκολουθεῖν, ὥσπερ, οἶμαι, τοὺς κρίκους τῆς ἀλύσεως· ἔπεισθαι δὲ ταῖς μὲν μεγάλαις ἡδοναῖς μεγάλας λύπας, ταῖς δὲ σμικραῖς σμικροτέρας, καὶ τίν γε μεγίστην ἡδοιην ἐπὶ τέλους εἶναι τὸν θάνατον. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ λύπην πρὸ αὐτοῦ συμβαίνειν μεγίστην· δῆλον γάρ ὡς οὐκ ἔστιν ἀνθρώπῳ μεῖζων ταύτης τῆς λύπης καὶ ὀδύνης τῆς ἀγούσης ἐπὶ τὸν θάνατον.

22 "Ἔλεγε δὲ καὶ κατ' ἄνδρι ἔτερα εἶναι δεσμά, τοῖς μὲν ἐλάττῳ, τοῖς δὲ μείζῳ περικείμενα ὥσπερ πέδας· καλεῖσθαι δὲ ὑφ' ἡμῶν αὐτὰς ἐλπίδας. ὥσπερ οὖν τὰς πέδας κατωτάτῳ τοῦ σώματος εἶναι καὶ περὶ τοῖς ἐσχάτοις μέρεσιν, οὕτω καὶ τὰς ἐλπίδας κατωτάτῳ εἶναι καὶ περὶ τὸ τελευταῖον μέρος τοῦ βίου, καὶ μάλιστα δὴ κρατεῖν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ ἀναγκάζειν πάντα πάσχοντας ὑπομένειν. τοῖς μὲν οὖν ἀνοίγοις τε καὶ ἡλιθίοις ὑπερόγκους τε εἶναι τὰς πέδας ταύτας καὶ σφόδρα παχείας, τοῖς δὲ κομψοτέροις κεχαλάσθαι τε καὶ λεπτάς περικείσθαι.

23 Καὶ γάρ τοι προσείκαζε καὶ ρίνη τι,¹ πάνυ ἀνδρικῶς ἐπόμενος τῇ εἰκόνῃ· τοῦτο δὲ ἔφη μόνους εὑρίσκειν τοὺς κομψούς τε καὶ δριμεῖς. ἀποκεκλεῖσθαι γάρ αὐτὸ πάνυ ἀκριβῶς, ὥσπερ εἴ τις ἐν δεσμωτηρίᾳ ρίνην ἀποκρύψειεν, ὅπως μηδεὶς τῶν δεσμωτῶν λάβοι, ἔπειτα λύσειεν ἔαυτόν.

¹ ρίνη τι Pflugk: ρίνηι τινι UB, ρίνην τινὶ M.

THIRTIETH DISCOURSE : CHARIDEMUS

so too is that other one by which we asserted that men are bound by the gods. This chain, he said, is composed entirely of both pleasure and pain, and these things are intertwined, the pleasant and the painful, and the one always of necessity follows the other, just as, I suppose, are the links of a chain.¹ Great pleasures are followed by great pains, the small pleasures by smaller pains, and the very greatest pleasure at the end is death. This is the reason that the pain which comes before death is the greatest; for it is clear that man has no greater pain and suffering than this which ends in death.

" He said, further, that for each man there are other bonds, in some cases lighter, in other cases heavier, which lie upon him just like fetters: they are called hopes by us.² Now just as the fetters are at the lowest part of the body and around our extremities, so the hopes too are at the very bottom and surround the final part of our life. They most of all hold men in their thrall and compel them to endure even though they suffer all tortures. In the case of the senseless and foolish, these fetters are massive and exceedingly thick, but for the more intelligent, the shackles that surround them are loose and light.

" And, mark you, he also compared something to a file, very manfully sticking to his parable. This, he said, is found only by the intelligent and shrewd; for it is locked away very carefully, just as a person might hide a file in a prison in order that none of the prisoners might get hold of it and then free

¹ For this idea of opposites see Plato, *Phaedo* 60 b-c.

² Cf. Pindar, *Nemean Odes* 11. 46 f.: "For his limbs are bound by greedy hopes"—δέδεται γὰρ ἀναιδεῖ ἐλπίδι γυῖα. Note the paronomasia in πέδας, ἐλπίδας (hoops, hopes).

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

τοὺς οὖν φιλοτίμους καὶ φιλοπόνους μόλις μέν,
ὅμως δὲ ἀνευρίσκειν. καλεῖσθαι δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῶν
αὐτὸ λόγον. ἐπειδὰν οὖν τάχιστα εὕρωσι, χρῆσθαι
τε καὶ ρίνāν τὰ δεσμὰ καὶ ποιεῖν τῆς ἀλύσεως τὸ
καθ' αὐτοὺς ὡς οἶόν τε ἵσχιότατον καὶ ἀσθενέσ-
τατον, μέχρις ἂν ἦ¹ δυνατὸν κατεργάσωνται

24 τάς τε ἡδονὰς καὶ τὰς λύπας. βριδὸν δὲ τοῦτο
γίγνεται. μόλις γάρ αὐτῶν ὁ λόγος, ἄτε στερεῶν
ὄντων καὶ ἀδημαντίνων, καθικεῖται καὶ κιτὰ
μικρὸν ἀπεισθίει, παντελῶς δὲ οὐκ ἀν δύναιτο
δαπανῆσαι καὶ διελεῖν. ὅτῳ δὲ ἂν ἐγγένηται
τοῦτο τὸ φάρμακον καὶ φιλοπόνως αὐτῷ χρήσηται
δι’ ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς ἐφ’ ὅσον οἶόν τ’ ἔστιν,
εὐχερῶς ἥδη τὴν φρουρὰν φέρει καὶ περιέρχεται
παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους ὥσπερ λελυμένους, καὶ τοῦ
χρεῶν ἐπιστάντος ῥαδίως ἀπεισιν, ὡς ἀν οὐκέτι
βίᾳ κρατούμενος οὐδὲ σφιγγόμενος. ἐκ τούτων
ἐνίστε οἱ θεοί τινας καὶ παρέδρους ἑαυτοῖς ποιοῦν-
ται δι’ ἀρετὴν καὶ σοφίαν, καθόλου τῆς τιμωρίας
ἀπαλλάξαντες.

25 Ταῦτα μέν τις εἶπεν ἀνὴρ δυσάρεστος, ὡς ἐγὼ
δοκῶ, καὶ πολλὰ λελυπημένος κατὰ τὸν βίον,
δψὲ παιδείας ἀληθοῦς ἡσθημένος, οὐ μὴν ἀληθῆ γε
οὐδὲ πρέποντα θεοῖς. ἔτερος δὲ βελτίων ἔστι τοῦδε
λόγος, ὃν πολὺ ἀν εἴποιμι προθυμότερον. ἥκουσα
δὲ αὐτὸν ἀνθρώπου γεωργοῦ ἐν ἀγροίκω τινὶ ῥυθμῷ

¹ ἦ Selden : ἦ B, ἦ U, εἰ M.

¹ As contrasted with that part of the chain which holds the other prisoners.

² Cf. Discourse 80. 8.

THIRTIETH DISCOURSE: CHARIDEMUS

himself. Now the ambitious and industrious have trouble in finding it, but still they do find it. And the name they give to it is 'Reason.' Then, as soon as they find it, they use it to file the fetters and make the part of the chain that binds themselves¹ as thin and weak as possible, until they overcome the pleasures and pains so far as one may. But this is slow work. Only with difficulty does their 'reason' affect the chains because they are of adamantine hardness,² and it wears them away only gradually, but is not able to wear them entirely through and tear them asunder. And when a man does get hold of this remedy, and uses it industriously by day and night to the best of his ability, he now endures his confinement cheerfully, walks around past the others as if he were a free man, and when his fated time comes, he goes his way without hindrance, as though no longer restrained by force or clamped to the chain.³ Of such men the gods at times make some their coadjutors on account of their virtue and wisdom, after completely freeing them from their punishment.⁴

"Now this explanation was given, in my opinion, by a certain morose man who had suffered a great deal in his life and only late had gained true education;⁵ but it is not the right explanation, nor one that befits the gods. There is another one better than that, which I am much more eager to give. I heard it from a peasant who spoke with a very rustic drawl

¹ Cf. § 43 of this Discourse and the pseudo-Platonic *Ariochus* 365 b: "Men should go to meet their fate cheerfully and almost singing in triumph" (just like the swan in Discourse 12, 4)—δεῖ . . . εὐθύμως, μόνον οὐχὶ παιανίζοντας, εἰς τὸ χρεῶν ἀπέναι.

² Cf. Plato, *Phaedo* 114 b-c. . . . ⁵ See p. 396 at bottom.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

καὶ μέλει· πλὴν τοῦτο μὲν ἵσως οὐδὲν ἡμᾶς δεῖ
μιμεῖσθαι, τὴν δὲ διάνοιαν αὐτὴν ἀπομνησθῆναι
πειρασόμεθα.

26 Ἐλεγε δὲ ὑμῶν τόν τε Δία καὶ τὸν ἄλλους
θεοὺς ὡς ἀγαθούς τε εἰεν¹ καὶ φιλοῦν ἡμᾶς, ἀτε
δὴ ξυγγενεῖς ὅντας² αὐτῶν. ἀπὸ γὰρ τῶν θεῶν,
ἔφη τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἶναι γένος, οὐκ ἀπὸ
Τιτάνων οὐδὲ ἀπὸ Ιγάντων. ὅτε γὰρ τὰ σύμπαντα
ἔσχον, ὥσπερ ἀποικίαν τινὰ αὐτῶν³ ἐν τῇ γῇ
ἐρήμῃ οὖσῃ κατοικίσαι τὸν ἀνθρώπους ἐφ' ἥπτοσι
τιμᾶς καὶ ὅλῳ, δικαιόis δὲ καὶ νόμοις τοῖς
αὐτοῖς· ὥσπερ αἱ μεγάλαι πόλεις καὶ εὐδαίμονες τὰς
μικρὰς κατοικίζουσι· καὶ μοι ἐδόκει λέγειν οὐ
προστιθεὶς αὐτὸς τὰ ὄνόματα, οἷον Ἀθηναῖοι
Κυθνίους ἢ Σεριφίους ἢ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Κυθηρίους
τὸ παλαιὸν ἐπὶ νόμοις τοῖς αὐτοῖς ὥκισαν· καὶ
μιμήματά γε παρ' ἔκάστοις τούτοις ἰδεῖν ἔστι τῶν
ἔθων⁴ καὶ τῆς πολιτείας ἦν οἱ κτίσαντες ἔχουσιν,
ἀσθενῆ δὲ πάντα καὶ χείρονα. τὴν μέντοι δια-
27 φορότητα οὐκ ἴσην εἶναι. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἄτε ἀνθρώ-
πους ἀνθρώπων διαφέρειν, τὴν δὲ τῶν θεῶν ὑπερο-
χὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀπειρόν τινα εἶναι. μέχρι μὲν οὖν
ἔτυχε νεοκατάστατος ὃν ὁ βίος, τὸν θεοὺς αὐτούς

¹ τε εἰεν Ar nim : τέ εἰσι.

² ὅντας Reiske : ἔόντας.

³ αὐτῶν Ar nim : αὐτῶν.

⁴ ἔθων Selden : θεῶν.

¹ Cf. Discourse 36, 39.

² Cf. Plato, *Phaedo* 62 b: "that those who care for us are gods"—τὸ θεοὺς εἶναι ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιμελουμένους

³ Cf. Discourse 12, 32; Aratus, *Phaenomena* 5; Cleanthes *Hymn to Zeus* 5; *Acts of the Apostles* 17, 28: "For we are really his offspring"—τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος ἐσμέν.

⁴ Cf. Plato, *Critias* 109 b; Maximus Tyrius 1 c-f; Euryphamus in Stobaeus' *Florilegium* 4, 39, 27, p. 915, 9 f.:

THIRTIETH DISCOURSE : CHARIDEMUS

and accent. However, perhaps there is no need for us to imitate this, and we shall attempt merely to record his thought.

" He said, in reciting the praises of Zeus and the other gods,¹ that they are good and love us² as being of kin³ to them. For it is from the gods, he declared, that the race of men is sprung and not from Titans or from Giants. For when they got the universe into their power, they established mankind upon the earth, which was hitherto uninhabited, as a sort of colony made up of their own people, on the basis of inferior honours and felicity, but with the same righteous laws as their own; precisely after the fashion in which great and prosperous cities found the small communities.⁴ And I thought that he meant, without expressly adding the proper names, just as Athens colonized Cythnos and Seriphos, or Sparta founded Cythera in ancient times, giving them the same laws as they themselves had. And in these various colonies you may behold copies of the customs and the form of government which their founders enjoy, but all are weak and inferior. However, the superiority of the colonizers over their colonies is not as great; for in the one case it is the superiority of men over men, whereas the greater excellency of the gods as compared with ourselves is an infinite one. Now, as long as life was but newly established, the gods both visited us in person and

" The divinity settled man, the most thoughtful animal, in the world"—τὸ θῆρον ἄνθρωπον, πολυφρονέστατον ζῷον ἐς τὸν κόσμον κατέκισεν; Cicero, *Dc. Legibus* 1. 7. 23: " This whole universe should be considered as one common state of gods and of men" —Universus hic mundus una civitas . . . communis deorum atque hominum existimanda; Cicero, *De Natura Deorum* 2. 62. 154.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

τε παραγίγνεσθαι καὶ πέμπειν ὥσπερ ἄρμοστὰς παρ' αὐτῶν ἄρχοντας τοὺς ἐπιμελησομένους, οἷον Ἡρακλέα τε καὶ Διόνυσον καὶ Περσέα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, οὓς ἀκούομεν θεῶν παῖδας, τοὺς δὲ ἐκγόνους γενέσθαι παρ' ἡμῖν· ἔπειτα ὑστερον ἔᾶσαι δι' αὐτῶν οἰκεῖν ὅπως ἂν δυνάμεθα. καὶ τότε δὴ τὰ ἀμαρτήματα καὶ τὰς ἀδικίας ἔνυμβαινειν.

28 Ἡιδε δὲ καὶ ἔτεραι ὡδῆν, ὡς ὁ μὲν κόσμος οἰκός ἐστι πάνυ καλός τε καὶ θεῖος ὑπὸ θεῶν τε κατεσκευασμένος· ὥσπερ ὑπὸ τῶν εὐδαιμόνων τε καὶ πλουσίων καλουμέριων ἀνδρῶν οὕστινας ὅρωμεν κατεσκευασμένους σταθμοῖς καὶ κίοσι, καὶ χρυσῷ καὶ γραφαῖς τίγν τε ὀροφὴν καὶ τοίχους καὶ θύρας εἰργασμένους.¹ ὅμοιῶς γεγονέναι τὸν κόσμον εἰς ὑποδοχήν τε καὶ εὑφροσύνην ἀνθρώπων, εὐειδῆ καὶ ποικίλον ἄστροις τε καὶ ἡλίῳ καὶ σελήνῃ καὶ γῇ καὶ θαλάττῃ καὶ φυτοῖς, ἢ δὴ τοῦ θεῶν πλούτου καὶ τέχνης τῆς ἔκείνων ἐστίν.

29 Παραγίγνεσθαι δὲ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους εἰς αὐτὸν ἔορτάσοντας, ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν θεῶν κεκλημένους ἐπ' εὐωχίαν τινὰ καὶ θοίην λαμπράν, ἀπάντων ἀπολαύσοντας τῶν ἀγαθῶν. κατακεῖσθαι δὲ ἄλλους ἀλλαχῆ, καθάπερ ἐν δείπνῳ, τοὺς μὲν ἀμείνονος χώρας, τοὺς δὲ φαυλοτέρας τυχόντας. εἶναι δὲ πάντα ὅμοια τοῖς παρ' ἡμῖν γιγνομένοις ἐν ταῖς ὑποδοχαῖς, πλὴν ὡς μικροῖς καὶ ἀγεννέσι

¹ εἰργασμένους Casaubon: εἰργασμέναις BM, εἰργασμένας U.

¹ The governors which the Spartans sent out after the Peloponnesian War to keep in order the cities which they had conquered were so called.

² Cf. Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations* 1. 12. 28; Plato, *Laws* 4. 713 d.

THIRTIETH DISCOURSE : CHARIDEMUS

sent harmosts,¹ as it were, from their own number at first to look after us, such as Heracles, for example,² Dionysus, Perseus, and the others, who, we are told, were the children of the gods, and that the descendants of these were born among us.³ Afterwards they permitted us to manage for ourselves as best we could. And then it was that sin and injustice began.

" The peasant also chanted a second monody,⁴ telling how the universe is a house very beautiful and divine, constructed by the gods; that just as we see houses built by men who are called prosperous and wealthy, with portals and columns, and the roof, walls, and doors adorned with gold and with paintings, in the same way the universe has been made to give entertainment and good cheer to mankind, beauteous and bespangled with stars, sun, moon, land, sea, and plants,⁵ all these being, indeed, portions of the wealth of the gods and specimens of their handiwork.⁶

" Into this universe comes mankind to hold high festival, having been invited by the king of the gods to a most splendid feast and banquet that they may enjoy all blessings.⁷ They recline in different places, just as at a dinner, some getting better and others inferior positions, and everything resembles what takes place among us at our entertainments, except that we are comparing the

¹ Cf. Discourse 36. 23; Plato, *Laws* 713 d and *Timaeus* 40 d, and following.

² Cf. 26. The first is in §§ 26, 27.

³ Cf. Discourse 12. 28 f.; Cicero, *De Natura Deorum* 2. 39, 98.

⁴ Cf. pseudo-Aristotle Περὶ κόσμου c. 5, p. 396 b, 27 f. and c. 6, p. 400 a, 2 f.

⁵ Cf. Discourse 12, 30 f. and Plato, *Politicus* 272 a.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

θεῖα καὶ μεγάλα εἰκάσαι. φῶς τε γὰρ ¹ ἡμῖν παρέχειν τοὺς θεοὺς διττὸν διὰ λαμπτήρων τινῶν, τοτὲ μὲν πλεῖον, τοτὲ δὲ ἔλαττον, τὸ μὲν νυκτός, τὸ δὲ ἡμέρας· καὶ παρακείσθαι δὴ τραπέζας πάντων μεστάς, σίτου τε καὶ ὀπώρας, τῆς μὲν αὐτομάτου, τῆς δὲ εἰργασμένης, ἕτι δὲ καὶ κρεῶν, τῶν μὲν ἡμέρων, τῶν δὲ ἀγρίων, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐκ θιλάττης. εἴραι δὲ τὰς τραπέζας ἔφη, πάνυ ἀγροίκως λέγων, τούς τε λειμῶνας καὶ πεδίους καὶ νάπας καὶ ἀκτάς, ἐν οἷς τὰ μὲν φύεινθαι, τὰ δὲ νέμεσθαι, τὰ δὲ θηράσθαι. ἄλλα δὲ ἄλλοις πλείονι παρεῖναι, πρὸς αἵς ἀν ἔκαιτιν τραπέζας κατακλιθῶσιν. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ πρὸς Θαλάττην τυχεῖν, τοὺς δὲ πρὸς πεδίους, τοὺς δὲ πρὸς ὄρεσι.

31 διακονεῖσθαι δὲ τὰς "Ὥρας, οἷα δὴ νεωτάτας οὖσας τῶν θεῶν, εὖ μὲν ἀμπεχομένας, καλὰς δὲ ἴδεν, οὕτι που χρυσῷ κεκοσμημένας, ἀλλὰ παντοίων ἀνθῶν στεφάνοις. διανέμειν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀνθῶν αὐτῶν, καὶ τάλλα ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῆς ἐστιάσεως, τὰ μὲν παρατιθείσας, τὰ δὲ αἱρούσας κατὰ καιρόν. γίγνεσθαι δὲ χοροὺς καὶ τὴν ἄλλην εὐπάθειαν ἅπασαν. τὸν μέντοι πόνον τοῦτον, διν ἔχειν δοκοῦμεν ἐν ² γεωργίαις τε καὶ θήραις καὶ φυτείαις, εἶναι τοσοῦτον ὅσον τοῖς κατακειμένοις τὸ ἐπορέξασθαι τινος καὶ τῇ χειρὶ λαβεῖν. ὁ δὲ ἔφην, ἄλλον ἀλλαχῆ κατακείσ-

32

¹ γὰρ after παρ' deleted by Roiske.

² ἐν added by Arnim.

¹ Cf. Discourse 12. 29; Genesis 1. 16.

THIRTIETH DISCOURSE : CHARIDEMUS

divine and great with the small and mean. For the gods furnish us with light of two kinds by means of lamps as it were, at one time a brighter and at another a dimmer light, the one at night and the other by day;¹ and tables are set beside us, loaded with everything, with bread and fruit, some of it wild and some cultivated, and with meats too, some from domestic animals, some from wild, and fish also from the sea. And these tables, the peasant said, speaking like a true rustic, are the meadows, plains, vales, and coast-land, on which some things grow, others pasture, and yet others are hunted. And different persons have different things in greater abundance according to the tables at which they have severally reclined. For some happen to have settled by the sea, others on the plains, and yet others in the mountains. And the waiters are the Seasons,² as being the youngest of the gods, beautifully dressed and fair to behold, and they are adorned, not, methinks, with gold, but with garlands of all manner of flowers. And some of the flowers themselves they distribute and also attend to the viands of the banquet in general, serving some and removing others at the right time. And there is dancing and every other sort of merrymaking. Furthermore, that labour which we think we undergo in farming and hunting and the care of the vines, is no more than it is for those at a table to reach out for a thing and take it in their hand. To return now to my statement that different persons reclined in different places, the reason for

¹ Daughters of Zeus and Themis. Cf. what is said about them in § 42 and see pseudo-Aristotle, *Περὶ κόσμου* c. 5, 397 a, 12f.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

θαι, τούτου καὶ ἡ κράσις τῶν ἀέρων αἰτία. τοὺς γὰρ πρώτους καὶ τοὺς ὑστάτους μᾶλλον τῶν ἄλλων εἶναι τοὺς μὲν ἐν φύχει, τοὺς δὲ ἐν ἀλέᾳ, τοὺς μὲν ἐγγὺς τοῦ φωτὸς ὅντας, τοὺς δὲ πόρρω.

33 Τῇ οὖν εὐφροσύνῃ καὶ τῇ εὐωχίᾳ χρῆσθαι οὐχ ἄπιστας ὅμοιώς, ἀλλ’ ἔκαστον κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ φύσιν. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἀπώτους καὶ ἀκρατεῖς οὕτε δρῦν οὐδὲν οὔτε ἀκούσιν οὐδεινός, ἀλλὰ ἐγκεκυφότας ἐσθίειν, ὥσπερ ἐν συφεῷ θέσι, ἔπειτα νικτάζειν. τινὰς δὲ αὐτῶν μὴ ἀρκεῖσθαι τοῖς παροῦσιν, ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ τὰ πορρωτέρω διατείνειν τὰς χεῖρας, οἷον μεσογείους ὅντας ἵχθύων ὀρέγεσθαι καὶ πράγματα ἔχειν· ἄλλους δὲ ἀπλήστους τε καὶ ἀθλίους ὅντας, φοβουμένους μήποτε αὐτοῖς ἐλλίπη, πρὸς αὐτοὺς συνάγειν καὶ σωρεύειν ὅσ¹ ἂν δύνωνται. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα, ὅταν αὐτοὺς ἀπιέναι δέη, πορεύεσθαι μηδενὸς μετασχόντας, ἀλλὰ πάνυ ἐνδεεῖς, καταλείπειν δὲ ταῦτα ἔτεροις· οὐ γὰρ εἶναι φέρεσθαι μεθ’ ἑαυτῶν. τούτους μὲν οὖν καταγελᾶσθαι τε καὶ ἀσχημονεῖν. ἔτερους δὲ πεττεύειν, τοὺς δὲ ἀστραγάλοις παιίζειν· εἶναι δὲ τοὺς πεττούς τε καὶ ἀστραγάλους οὐχ οἷονς ἡμεῖς δινομάζομεν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν χρυσοῦς τοὺς δὲ ἀργυροῦς, ὃ δὴ νόμισμα καλοῦμεν ἡμεῖς, ὑπὲρ οὖθις διαφέρεσθαι καὶ ζητεῖν ἔκαστον πλεονεκτεῖν. πλεῖστον δὴ θόρυβον τούτους καὶ ἀκοσμίαν παρέχειν, τοὺς δὴ κυβεύοντας, καὶ δοκεῖν τῶν συμποτῶν ἀηδεστάτους. ἐνίοτε δὲ καὶ μάχεσθαι καὶ εἰς χεῖρας ἴέναι καὶ τιτρώσκειν 36 ἄλλήλους. μάλιστα δὲ τοὺς μεθυσκομένους ταῦτα

¹ ὁ Casaubon: ὁς Μ., οὖς UB.

THIRTIETH DISCOURSE : CHARIDEMUS

that is the differences in the climate. For those at the head of the tables and those at the foot, more than of the others, are either in the cold or in the heat, because they are either near the light or far from it.

" Now all, so the man continued, do not enjoy the merrymaking and banqueting in the same way, but each according to his own nature.¹ The dissolute and intemperate neither see nor hear anything, but bend over and eat, like pigs in a sty, and then nod in sleep. Again, some of them are not satisfied with what is near, but reach out their hands for the things that are farther away, as, for example, people living inland want fish and take trouble to get it; while others, who are insatiable and wretched, fearing that food will fail them, collect and pile up for themselves as much as they can, and after this, when they have to go, they depart without having a share of anything, but utterly destitute, and leave these things to others; for they cannot take them with them. Now these persons are a laughing-stock and disgrace. Others play at draughts and yet others with dice; but the draughts and dice are not like those to which we give these names, but are made some of gold and some of silver—we call them coins—and over them they quarrel and each seeks to get the greater share. It is these last-named men who cause the greatest uproar and disorder—I mean those who play at dice—and they appear to be the most disagreeable of the revellers. Sometimes, too, they fight and come to blows and wound one another. But it is the drunken who are most inclined to act this way.

¹ Cf. Discourse 27. 1; 32. 53; 33. 14 f.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

δρᾶν. μεθύσκεσθαι δὲ οὐκ ἀπὸ οἴνου, καθάπερ τοὺς παρ' αὐτοῖς, ἀλλ' ὑφ' ἡδονῆς. τοῦτο γὰρ ἐν τῇ κοινῇ ἔστιάσει τὸ πόμα παρέχειν τοὺς θεούς, ὥστε ἔξελέγχεσθαι τὸν ἐκάστον τρόπον. δύο δὲ οἰνοχόους ἐφεστάναι, τὸν μὲν ἄρρενα, τὴν δὲ θήλειαν· ὄνομάζεσθαι δε αὐτοῖν τὸν μὲν Νοῦν, τὴν δὲ Ἀκράτειαν. τοὺς μὲν οὖν φρονίμους τὸν ἄρρενα οἰνοχόουν ἔχειν, καὶ παρ' ἐκείνου μόνου τούτους δέχεσθαι σπανίως τε καὶ σμικρᾶς κύλιξι καὶ πάνυ ἀσφαλῶς

37 κεκραμένον· κεῖσθαι γὰρ ἔνα κρατῆρα, τόν γε τῆς Σωφροσύνης· ἔσταναι γε μὴν¹ πολλοὺς ἐν τῷ μέσῳ καὶ διαφέροντας τῇ γεύσει ὥσπερ οἴνων πολλῶν· εἶναι δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀργυροῦς τε καὶ χρυσοῦς· ἔτι δὲ καὶ ζῷα ἔξωθεν κύκλῳ ἔχειν καὶ ἔλικάς τινας καὶ τορέας. τὸν δὲ τῆς Σωφροσύνης λεῖον τε εἶναι καὶ οὐ μέγαν καὶ ὡς ἂν εἰκάσαι τις ὅρῶν χαλκοῦν. δεῖν² οὖν ἐκεῖθεν πολλαπλάσιον λαμβάνοντας καὶ ξυγκεραννύντας σμικρόν τι τῆς

38 ἡδονῆς πίνειν. οἷς μὲν οὖν ἔστιν ὁ Νοῦς οἰνοχόος, οὕτως οἰνοχοεῖν, φοβούμενον καὶ προσέχοντα μή πῃ τῆς κράσεως ἀμαρτών σφήλῃ τὸν δαιτυμόνα καὶ καταβάλῃ. τὴν δὲ Ἀκράτειαν τοῖς μὲν πλείστοις ἄκρατον τὴν ἡδονὴν ἔγχεῖν, μηδὲ μικρὸν σωφροσύνης παραμιγνύουσαν, τοῖς δὲ ὀλίγον τι παντελῶς λόγου ἔνεκεν. τοῦτο δὲ εὐθὺς ἔξιτηλον γίγνεσθαι καὶ μηδαμοῦ φαίνεσθαι. τοὺς δὲ

¹ γε μὴν Cohoon: γὰρ.

² δεῖν Emperius: δεῖ.

THIRTIETH DISCOURSE : CHARIDEMUS

However, it is not wine that makes them drunk, as it is with us, but pleasure. For this is the beverage that the gods furnish at this banquet to which all mankind is invited, so that the character of each man may be revealed. And two cup-bearers stand at their elbows, one male, the other female; the one of them is called Intelligence and the other Intemperance. Now those banqueters who are sensible have the male cup-bearer and from him alone they accept the drink sparingly, in small cups, and only when it has been so mixed that it is quite harmless; for there is only one bowl,¹ that of Sobriety, has been placed before them, nevertheless there are many bowls available for all and differing in taste, as though filled with many kinds of wine, and they are of silver and of gold; and besides, they have figures of animals encircling them on the outside and certain scrolls and reliefs. But the bowl of Sobriety is smooth, not large, and of bronze, to judge by its appearance. So from this bowl they must take many times as large a portion and mix with it a little of the pleasure and drink. Now for those whose cup-bearer he is, Intelligence pours out the wine just so, fearing and giving close heed lest in some way he should fail to get the right mixture and cause the banqueter to stumble and fall. But Intemperance pours out a neat draught of pleasure for the great majority without mixing even a little of sobriety with it, though for some she puts in just a very little for the name of it; still this little straight-way disappears and is nowhere to be seen. And

¹ As appears from what follows, this is not the bowl in which the wine of pleasure is mixed with the water of sobriety, but a receptacle for the undiluted wine.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

πίνοντας μὴ διαλείπειν, ἀλλ’ ἐπισπέρχειν τε
αὐτὴν καὶ κελεύειν θᾶττον ἵέναι παρ’ αὐτούς,
καὶ προαρπάζειν ἔκαστον. τὴν δὲ ἐπείγεσθαι
καὶ περιτρέχειν ἀσθμαίνουσαν καὶ ρεομένην ἴδρωτι.

39 τοὺς μὲν οὖν ἐκείνης ἔστιάτορας ὅρχεῖσθαι τε
καὶ κυλίεσθαι προπίπτοντας ἐν τῷ μέσῳ, καὶ
μάχεσθαι καὶ βοῶν, οἷα δὴ ποιοῦσιν οἱ μεθυσθέντες
ὑπὸ οἴνου· πλὴν οὗτοι μὲν ἐπ’ ὀλίγον καὶ μετρίως·
μικρὸν γὰρ ἐξαρκεῖν καταδαρθεῖν, ἐπειτα ἄμεινον
ἔαυτῶν ἔχουσιν, ἅτε ἐλαφρᾶς¹ οὔσης τῆς μέθης·
οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς ἡδονῆς καρωθέντες ὡς ἂν ὑπὸ²
ἰσχυροτέρου πόματος κατεχόμενοι δι’ ὅλου τοῦ
βίου ταῦτα ποιοῦσι, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀπαλλαγῆναι
ζῶσιν· εἰ μὴ γε ἀποθανοῦσιν.² οὗτος γὰρ ὑπνος
ἐστὶ τῶν οὕτως μεθυσκομένων καὶ μόνος αὐτοὺς

40 ὠφελεῖ. πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἐξεμούσιν ὑπὸ πλησμονῆς·
γίγνεται δὲ μετὰ σπαραγμοῦ τε καὶ λύπης τῆς
ἐσχάτης τὸ τὴν ἡδονὴν ἐκβάλλειν. ὅστις δ’
ἄν ἴσχύσῃ, κουφίζεται καὶ ρᾶον διάγει τὸ λοιπόν.
σπανίως δὲ τοῦτο συμβαίνει τὸ ἐθέλειν ἐξεμεῖν,
ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον πίνειν ἐθέλουσιν. οὐδὲ γὰρ
παύονται τοῦ δύφους, ἀλλ’ ἀεὶ σφοδρότερον
ἔχουσι, καθάπερ οἱ τῷ οἴνῳ ἀκράτῳ χρώμενοι.

41 Οὗτοι μὲν οὖν τοιοῦτοι εἰσὶ καὶ καταισχύνουσι
καὶ ὑβρίζουσι τὴν χάριν τῶν θεῶν· οἱ δὲ μέτριοί τε
καὶ ἐπιεικεῖς τῇ μὲν ἡδονῇ πράως χρῶνται καὶ
διὰ χρόνου φοβούμενοι· ὥσπερ δὲ ἄνθρωπος
ἐλεύθερος κληθεὶς ὑπὸ τινος³ τῶν κρειττόνων,
βασιλέως ἢ δυνάστου, τοῦ μὲν ἐσθίειν καὶ πίνειν
ἀμελεῖν, πλὴν ὅσον ἀναγκαῖον, προσέχει δὲ τοῖς

¹ ἐλαφρᾶς Dindorf: ἐλαφρᾶς U, ἐλαφρῶς BM.

² ἀποθανοῦσιν Emperius: ἀποθάνουσιν M, ἀποθάνωσιν UB.

THIRTIETH DISCOURSE : CHARIDEMUS

the drinkers do not take intervals of rest, but hurry her on and bid her come faster to them, and each one of them grabs first at what she brings. But she hurries and runs about panting and dripping with sweat. Some of her guests dance and lurch, falling prostrate in the sight of all, and fight and shout, just as men do who are drunken with wine. However, these do so only for a little while and moderately; for they are content to sleep a little while, and after that they feel better than ever, since their intoxication was slight. But those who have become stupefied by pleasure, being affected by a stronger potion, act this way all through life; and it is impossible for them to get free while they live but only when dead. For death is the only sleep for people intoxicated in this way and it alone helps them. Many too vomit from surfeit, and it is accompanied by retching and the severest pain—this casting out of the pleasure. But whoever persists is relieved and gets on better for the future. Yet it rarely happens that a person wishes to vomit; much rather do they wish to keep on drinking. For their thirst does not cease, but ever becomes more intense, just as with people who use untempered wine.

" Such, then, is the character of these people, and they disgrace and insult the bounty of the gods; whereas the temperate and reasonable enjoy pleasure in moderation and at intervals, owing to their fear; and just as a gentleman who has been invited by some superior, such as a king or a prince, neglects the food and drink, except in so far as he cannot avoid eating and drinking, and pays attention

³ τίνος Dindorf: τινων.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

ἔνδον καὶ τούτοις τέρπεται· κάκεῖνοι μέθης
 μὲν καὶ πεττῶν καὶ ἀστραγάλων ἀμελοῦσιν,
 ὅρῶσι δὲ τάνδον ὅπως ἔχει, καὶ τὸν τε ἀνδρῶνα
 ἐν ὦ κατάκεινται θαυμάζουσί τε καὶ ζητοῦσιν
 ὅπως γέγονε, καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ πάντα ὥσπερ γραφάς
 τινας εὑσιδεῖς καὶ καλὰς καταγοῦσι, καὶ τὴν
 ἄλλην οἰκονομίαν¹ τε καὶ τάξιν καὶ τὰς "Ωρας,
 ὡς εὖ τε καὶ ἐπισταμένως ἅπαντα πράττουσι,
 καὶ προσέχουσιν αὐτοῖς, καὶ μόνοι δὴ τοῦ κάλλους
 42 αἰσθάνονται. μέλει δ' αὐτοῖς ὅπως μὴ δοκώσιν
 ὡς τυφλοί τε καὶ κωφοὶ μετειληφέναι τούτων,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπαλλαγέντες ἔχωσί τι εἰπεῖν περὶ αὐτῶν,
 εἴ τις πυνθάνοιτο, ἃ τε εἶδον ἃ τε ἔγινωσαν.
 καὶ ταῦτα φροντίζοντες καὶ μετὰ νοῦ τῆς ἡδονῆς
 ἐμμελῶς μετέχοντες διάγουσιν, εἰς ἐνὶ διαλεγό-
 μενοι καὶ κατὰ δύο καὶ τρεῖς ὅμοιοι. ἐνίστε δὲ
 μεγάλης κραυγῆς γενομένης καὶ θορύβου παρὰ
 τῶν μεθυόντων κάκεῖσε ἀπέβλεψαν, ἔπειτα εὐθὺς
 πάλιν πρὸς ἑαυτοῖς ἐγένοντο.

43 Καὶ ἐπειδὰν ἀπιέναι δέη, οἵ μὲν ἄσωτοι καὶ
 ἀκρατεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀκολουθούντων ἔλκονται καὶ
 σύρονται μετὰ πόνων τε καὶ νοσημάτων κεκραυγότες
 καὶ οἰμώζοντες, οὐδὲν εἰδότες οὔτε ὅποι παρῆλθον
 οὔτε ὅπως εἰστιάθησαν, κἄν πάνυ πολύν τις αὐτῶν
 μείνῃ χρόνον. οἵ δὲ ὄρθοι τε καὶ ἀσφαλῶς τοῖς
 ἑαυτῶν ποσὶν ἀπίστι, προσαγορεύσαντες τοὺς
 44 φίλους, φαιδροί τε καὶ γεγηθότες, ὡς οὐδὲν ἀσχη-
 μονήσαντες. ταῦτα οὖν ὁ θεὸς ἐπισκοπῶν καὶ

¹ οἰκονομίαν Reiske : οἰκοδομίαν.

² Cf. § 31.

² Cf. Discourse 13. 31.

³ Cf. § 24.

THIRTIETH DISCOURSE : CHARIDEMUS

to what is in the palace and enjoys this; so the reasonable neglect the drinking and draughts and dice, and look at the state of the things within, admire the banqueting-hall in which they are reclining, try to learn how it was made, and observe everything that is in it, just as they would some fair and beautiful paintings; and they notice the management also and its orderly system, and the Seasons too, observing how well and intelligently they do everything;¹ they observe attentively all these things and alone perceive their beauty. They are anxious also not to appear to take part in all this like persons who are blind and deaf, but they wish to have something to tell about it when they leave, if anyone should ask them about what they saw and observed. And throughout the banquet they continue to take thought for these things and to enjoy the pleasure intelligently and moderately, while they debate man to man, or in congenial groups of two or three.² Sometimes, however, when a great noise and disturbance is caused by those who are drunk, they look in their direction and then straightway again give attention to their own concerns.

" And when they have to depart, the dissolute and intemperate are pulled and dragged away by their slave attendants with discomforts and spells of sickness, shouting and groaning the while, and having no knowledge whatever where they have been or how they have feasted, even if one or another of them remains a very long time. But the others depart erect and standing securely upon their own feet after bidding farewell to their friends, joyous and happy because they have done nothing unseemly.³ God, therefore, looking upon these things

DIO CHRYSOSTOM

πάντας¹ δρῶν, ὡς ἐν ἰδίῳ οἴκῳ, ὅπως ἔκαστος εἰστιάτο, τοὺς βελτίστους ἀεὶ παρ' αὐτὸν καλεῖ, καν τῷ σφόδρᾳ ἀρεσθεὶς τύχῃ, μένειν αὐτοῦ κελεύει καὶ συμπότην καὶ ἑταῖρον ἐποιήσατο, καὶ τοῦ νέκταρος ἥδη οὗτος εὐωχέεται. τοῦτο δὲ ἔοικε μὲν τῷ τῆς σωφροσύνης πώματι, διαυγέστερον δέ ἔστιν ἔκείνου πολὺ καὶ καθαρώτερον, ὡς ἄν, οἷμαι, θείας ὅν καὶ ἀληθοῦς σωφροσύνης.”

45 Δ. Παπᾶ, ὁ Χαρδημε. οἶος ὁν ἡμῖν τέθινηκας, ὡς πολὺ τῶν κατὰ σαντὸν ἀνθρώπων ὑπερέξειν ἔμελλες, οἵαν δὲ καὶ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τοῖς πολίταις ἐπίδειξιν σαντοῦ παρέσχεις, μὰ Δὲ² οὐ λόγων, ἀλλὰ μεγάλης καὶ ἀληθινῆς ἀνδρείας. ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ ἔχω ὅπως παραμυθήσωμαι ὑμᾶς τοιούτου στερηθέντας μὴ βαρέως φέρειν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔμαυτὸν οἶστον τέ εἴμι ἵκανως παραμυθήσασθαι ἐν τῷ παρόντι. σὺ δέ, ὁ Τίμαρχε, μόνος δύνασαι τὸν πατέρα τοῦτον κουφίζειν καὶ θεραπεύειν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀτυχίαν, ἐὰν μέλλῃ σοι μὴ πολὺ ἔκείνου καταδεεστέρῳ φαίνεσθαι. καὶ γὰρ ἄτοπον, εἰ τὴν μὲν οὐσίαν αὐτοῦ τὴν μὲν ἥδη παρείληφας τοσαύτην οὐσαν, τὴν δὲ αὐθις λήψη τοῦδε ἀποθανόντος, τὴν δὲ σωφροσύνην καὶ τὸ θάρσος καὶ τὸ τῶν καλλίστων ἐρασθῆναι ἀφήσεις, ὡς κατά γε ταῦτα οὐδὲν ἔκείνω προσήκων.

46

¹ πάντας Arnim: πάντα.

THIRTIETH DISCOURSE : CHARIDEMUS

and observing all the banqueters, as if he were in his own house, how each person has comported himself at the banquet, ever calls the best to himself; and if he happens to be especially pleased with any one, he bids him remain there and makes him his boon companion;¹ and thenceforth this man regales himself with nectar. This resembles the beverage of Sobriety, but is clearer by far than the other and purer because, as I think, it belongs to divine and true sobriety."

Dio. Alas, Charidemus, what a man has been lost to us in your death! How far you would have surpassed the men of your generation, and what a splendid revelation of your character you have given to your father and your fellow citizens, a display, not of words assuredly, but of great and true manliness. For my part, I know not how to console you of his family, bereft of such a man, by exhorting you not to sorrow too deeply, for I am not able adequately to console even myself for the present. You alone, Timarchus, are able to lighten this father's grief and to bring healing to his misfortune, by making it your concern not to be found much inferior to the departed. For it would be strange indeed if, while you have already received part of his property, great as it was, and will receive the other part in the future when your father here dies, yet you should forsake sobriety, courage, and a love for all that is most beautiful, as if in these matters you were of no kin at all to Charidemus.

¹ Cf. Epictetus, *Enchiridion* c. 15: "Then you will be not only a boon companion of the gods, but will also assist them in governing"—τότε οὐ μόνον συμπότης τῶν θεῶν ἔσῃ ἀλλὰ καὶ συνάρχων.



INDEX

ACANTHUS, 156.15
Achaeans, stoned Palamedes to death, 392.22
Achilles, at funeral of Patroclus, 120.36; 286.16; had auburn hair, 288.17; did not live to old age, 370.14, 390.20; brave and beautiful, 388.18
Adonis, famed for beauty, 388.18
Aegae, 332.6
Aegina, 246.1
Aegisthus, had relations with Clytemnestra, 148.6
Aeropis, wife of Atreus, 148.6
Aeschinus, equalled best orators in diction, 222.11
Aesop, composed fable about owl, 10.7
328.4
Alexander (Great), 206.4; guiding spirit of Macedonians, 330.6
Alexander (Paris), reared by herdsman's wife, 152.10; son of Priam, 154.13; desired beautiful wife more than wealth, 260.19; 288.17
Amphilion, Zeus' son, believed to be Oeneus' son, 152.9; 154.13
Antilochus, did not live to old age, 390.20
Antinous, wretched though a king, 140.22
Antipater, later Greek orator, 222.12
Apollo, advises Oroetus, 94.6, 96.8; judged Socrates wisest man, 114.30; 154.12
Arcadia, 170.30; refused to Spartans by oracle, 200.16
Archelaus, Macedonian king, invited Socrates, 114.30
Arion, poet, saved from sea, 238.2
Aristocles, regarded as philosopher in politics, 292.2
Asia, 110.23; 328.5
Astyages, Cyrus was his vassal, 164.22
Athene, loved the owl, 8.6
Athenians, 36.34; dialect of, 68.66; 74.72; 108.23; 112.25; 112.26; 148.7; were slaves in Sicily, 156.14; voted freedom to slaves, 162.21; asked oracle about Sicily, 202.17; 296.3; 326.3
Athenodorus, the pancretiast, 366.10
Athens, Iphidias honoured owl there, 8.6; to be enclosed with Sicily, 202.17; 252.8; colonized Cythnos and Seriphos, 420.26
Alcidae, first to be taught to read and write, 108.21
Atreus, hero of tragedies, 106.20
Attica, fell into enemies' hands, 202.17; planted with olive trees by Peistratus' order, 326.3
Augē, mother of Telephus by Heracles, 152.10
Babylon, 12.10; 252.8; annexed by Alexander, 330.6
Bacis, 120.36
Bactra, 12.10
Boeotians, 54.49
Band, Sacred (see Sacred Band)
Callias, son of slave in Thrace, 156.15;
Carthage, 332.7
Caria, 306.9
Carthaginians, 330.6; made Libyans by Hanno, 332.7
Castor, Helen's brother, Zeus' son, 262.20

INDEX

Centaur, 350.2
 Chaeronea, battle of, 162.21
 Charicles, 340.2
 Charidemus, older son of Timarchus, 400.1-3; 406.8; 434.45
 Charixenus, 340.2
 Cleinias, father of Alcibiades, 328.4
 Cleisthenes, 292.1
 Cleon, guiding spirit of Athens, 328.4
 Clytemnestra, Agamemnon's wife, 400.1-3; 406.6
 Cn. L. Cr. M. Quintus, 112.26
 Colchis, 304.4
 Conon, later Greek orator, 112.26, 222.12
 Corycraeans, 296.3
 Corinth, 252.7
 Corinthians, 296.3
 Critias, member of the Thirty, 274.3
 Croesus, advised by Apollo, 94.6; exposed greed of men, 206.22
 Cronus, 138.21
 Otesias, father of Eumaeus, 156.14
 Cynosarges, gymnasium, 146.3
 Cyrus, freed Persians, 162.22; vassal of Astyages, 164.22; 282.11; 328.5
 18, 420.26
 18, 420.26
 Cyzicus, 236.2

 Daedalus, portrayed the gods, 50.45; deceived the bull, 276.4
 Darius, with broken ankle, obeyed surgeons, 128.8; guiding spirit of Persians, 330.5
 Delphi, received largest offerings from Croesus, 96.8
 Demosthenes, one of best orators, 222.11
 Dionysia, tragic performances at, 106.20
 Dionysus, welcomes votaries, 348.2; son of a god, 422.27
 Dium, 332.6
 Dodona, most ancient Grecian oracle to Apollo, 84.81
 Dorians, dialect of, 68.66

 Ecbatana, annexed by Alexander, 330.6
 Egypt, city of shopkeepers in, 102.17; annexed by Alexander, 330.6
 Egyptian, surgeons of Darius, 128.8

 Eleans, sons of, 26.25; 58.52; 58.54; city of, 76.74; 84.82; 86.85
 Electra, of Euripides, quoted, 92.5
 Epaminondas, regarded as philosopher in politics, 292.2
 Epialtes, did not live to old age, 390.20
 Ephorus, careless historian, 222.10
 Eris, described by Homer, 74.72
 Eteocles, addressed by Iocasta, 191.8
 Eumeaus, son of Ctesias, 156.14
 Euphorbus, 288.17

.

Europe, 272.1; 330.6
 Eurymnachus, wretched though a king, 140.22
 Eurypylus, 288.17

 Ganymede, 388.17
 Getae, the land of, 20.16
 Giants, 420.26
 Grecian, ancient, 112.1-2; 112.14
 Greek (see also Hellenes), 112.1-2; 112.14; 30.27; 34.33; 44.41; 54.50; 62.50; 80.78; ancient custom of, 96.9; admired Socrates for wisdom, 114.30; 116.32; 134.16; honoured Tragedy's heroes, 152.10; 274.3

Hannibal, guiding spirit of Carthagilians, 330.6; enabled Carthagilians to control Italy, 332.7
 Hamo, guiding spirit of Carthagilians, 330.6; made Carthaginians Libyans, 332.7
 Hector, 286.16; his beauty amazed Achaeans, 288.16; did not reach old age, 370.14
 Helen, carried off by Paris, 198.14; induced to leave husband, 206.23; carried off by Theseus, 388.18
 Hellas, heritage of, 44.42; first united by Pheidias, 58.53; 60.56; 76.74; 86.85; 108.23; 128.8; 198.14; 266.23; 400.3
 Hellenes (see also Greeks), 54.49; first shown images of gods by Homer, 76.73; 84.84
 Helots, 168.28
 Hephaestus, would criticize, 56.52; 84.83

INDEX

Hera, 261.22
 Heracles, had relations with slave woman, 148.5; father of Telephus by Augē, 152.10; son of a god, 422.27
 Heracles, Arcade of, 360.2
 Hermus, 94.7
 Herodotus, to be read at ease, 220.10; quoted, 94.7
 Hesiod, beloved of the Muses, 24.23; 104.19; tells of Oronus, 138.21; Fuchs, 177; wrote like wild, 106.12; quoted, 26.24
 Hippolytus, 18.11
 Hippocampus, 251.1
 Hippodamia, 19.11; addressed to Helen, 200.11; and the five cities, 200.12
 Homer, called the great Homer, 2.10; 24.23; describes his art, 82.10; compares Agamemnon to Zeus, 66.63; 68.04; spoke frankly, 68.06; gives size of Eris, 74.72; 74.73; 84.83; his Odysseus bewailed his lot, 92.4; 104.19; tells of Oronus, 138.21; 140.22; comes first, in the middle, and last among writers, 218.8; tells of North Wind and Trojan mares, 266.25; 302.1; speaks of mankind, 306.5; tells of Centaur, 350.2; 390.20; says Achaeans wept, 392.22; advises not to spurn gifts of gods, 406.8; quoted, 18.15; 20.17; 28.28; 56.52; 66.62; 68.64; 74.72; 84.83; 86.85; 288.10; 302.1
 Hyperbolus, Athenian demagogue, 328.4
 Hypercides, fine orator, 222.11
 Iardamus, his slave was Heracles' mistress, 148.5
 Iatrocles, opponent of Melancomas, 362.4
 Icarius, father of Penelope, 146.4
 Ida, Mount, haunt of gods, 66.62; 152.10; 260.10
 Ilium, 24.23; 262.20
 Indians, 116.32
 Iocasta, addresses Eteocles, 194.8; sons of, 198.13
 Ionia, 102.17
 Ionians, 54.49; dialect of, 68.66
 Iphitus, instituted games in Zeus' honour, 58.54
 Ister, 20.16

Italy, 332.7
 Ithaca, sailors from, 38.36; 156.14
 Itys, mourned by nightingales in spring, 304.3

Jason, anointed himself with a potent salve, 182.10; 304.4

Lacadaemonians (see Spartans), helped by Persians against Athenians, 112.26
 Laertes, Numaeus was his slave, 156.14
 Lesbos, 262.20
 Leuctra, Thebans defeated Spartans there, 168.28; 294.2
 Libyans, 332.7
 Lyceum, 100.14
 Lycurgus, helped institute games in Zeus' honour, 58.64; has lighter touch than other orators, 222.11; regarded as philosopher in politics, 202.2; guiding spirit of Spartans, 326.3
 Lydians, ruled by Croesus, 94.6
 Lysias, fine orator, 222.11

Macedonia, 272.1
 Macedonians, 330.6
 Medea, got salve for Jason, 182.10
 Medes, enslaved to Persians, 328.5
 Media, 94.7; 170.30
 Megara, 246.1
 Melancomas, opponent of Iatrocles, 362.4; 366.9; 374.1; brave and beautiful, 380.8
 Memnon, Ethiopian king, 288.17; had short life, 370.14; 390.12
 Menander, writer of comedy, 218.6
 Menelaus, lost wife and possessions, 198.14; brother of king of Greece, 262.20; the home of, 266.23; 288.17
 Messenia, 400.1
 Messenians, 168.27
 Muses, loved Hesiod, 24.23; Pierian, 26.24; strove with Thamyris for prize, 106.21
 Mysia, 262.20
 Mysians, Homer's name for Getae, 20.16

Naples, 362.4
 Nero, castrated youth, 276.6; youth wore women's clothes, 278.7; was utterly regardless of money, 280.9; 282.11

INDEX

Nicias, guiding spirit of Athenians, 328.4
 Ninus, Babylon's king, 12.10
 Ninyas, 288.17
 Nireus, 288.17
 Numa, guiding spirit of Romans, 330.6; ruled a Rome unknown to fame, 332.8
 Nympths, welcome votaries, 348.2
 Odysseus, 92.4; 96.10; 138.22; 146.4; 156.14
 Oedipus, hero of tragedies, 106.20
 Oeneus, alleged son of Pandion, 150.9
 Olympia, 272.1; Melancomas and father won victories there, 366.9; 376.3
 Olympus, 28.26; 66.62; 80.79
 Olymthians, 330.6
 Orion, did not live to old age, 390.20
 Ormenus, grandfather of Eumaeus, 156.14
 Oroetes, 200.15
 Orpheus, 234.3
 Otus, did not live to old age, 390.20
 Owl, the strange experience of, 4.1; beloved to Athene, honoured by Phaidias, 8.6; in Aesop's fable, 10.6; 16.13
 Palamedes, invented alphabet, 106.21
 Pallibothra, 14.10
 Pallas, 104.19
 Pandion, alleged father of Oeneus, 150.9
 Patroclus, funeral of, 120.36; did not live to old age, 288.17; 370.14; 390.20
 Peiraeus, fortified by Themistocles' orders, 328.4
 Peisistratus, known as "orator" and "popular leader," 292.1; guiding spirit of ancient Athenians, 326.3
 Pella, 332.6
 Peloponnesae, 166.14
 Peloponnesians, 54.49; 296.3
 Pelops, 288.17
 Penelope, doubted by her son, 146.4
 Pericles, depicted by Phaidias on Athene's shield, 8.6; friend of Phaidias, 60.55; 292.1
 Perseus, son of a god, 422.27
 Persians, 108.23; 112.25; Darius, king of, 128.8; 138.20; 140.23; 162.22; 274.3; 276.5; 328.5
 Phaon, famed for beauty, 388.18
 Phaidias, honoured owl by his art, 8.6; depicted self and Pericles on Athene's shield, 10.6; took pattern from Homer, 28.23; 48.45; 54.49; 54.50; friend of Pericles, 60.55; 84.82; 84.84
 Philip, 162.21; 246.1; 296.3; 330.6
 Phocians, 296.3
 Phoenician, 332.7
 Pindar, quoted, 81.81
 Pirithous, home desecrated by Centaur, 350.2
 Pluton, later Greek orator, 222.12
 Polus, admired himself, 18.14
 Polydeletus, portrayed the gods, 50.45; 84.82
 Polydore, son of the Oroetes, 200.15
 Polydeuces, Helen's brother, Zeus' son, 262.20
 Polygnotus, portrayed gods, 50.45
 Poseidon, 154.12
 Priam, slave of, reared Parla, 154.10; offspring of, 154.13
 Rhodogunda, 278.7
 Romans, 116.31; 116.32; 330.6; ordered Carthaginians to move capital, 332.7
 Rome, 114.29; taken over by Numa, 332.7; Romulus ruled harshly, 332.8
 Sacred Band, conquered Spartans at Leuctra, 294.2
 Samos, 200.15
 Sardis, 148.6
 Sarpedon, had short life, 370.14; 390.20
 Scythians, 90.1; 116.32; 330.5
 Seasons, youngest of the gods, 424.31; 432.41
 Semiramis, Babylonian queen, 12.10
 Seriphos, colonized by Athens, 120.26
 Sesostrius, 288.17
 Sibylla, 120.36
 Sicily, Athenians were slaves there, 156.14; oracle was consulted about it, 202.17
 Sirens, 38.30
 Socrates, claimed to know nothing, 18.14; made appeals, 100.14; rebuked people, 100.16; 114.29
 Socratics, indispensable for orators, 224.13

INDEX

Solon, regarded as philosopher in politics, 292.2
Sousa, 12.10; annexed by Alexander, 330.6
Sparta, founded Cythera, 420.26
Spartans (see Lacedaemonians), defeated at Leuctra, 168.28; consulted oracle, 200.16; 246.1; scourged by Lycurgus' command, 326.3
Tegea, Spartans march against it, 200.16
Teiresias, advised Odysseus, 96.10
Telemachus, doul
Telephus, son of 162.10
Thamyris, strove with Muses for prize, 106.21
Thebans, defeated Spartans at Leuctra, 168.28; 296.3
Thebes, 252.7
Themistocles, 202.1; compelled Athenians to fight on sea, to fortify Pelopaeus, 328.4
Theodorus, later Greek orator, 222.12
Theopompus, second-rank historian, 220.10
Theseus, brave and beautiful, 388.18
Thetis, made supplication, 66.62
Thirty, The, Critias, member of, 274.3
Thrace, 186.19; son of Callias was slave there, 166.15; 168.17
Thucydides, foremost historian, 220.10
292.1
Thyestes, made advances to Aeropæ, 148.6
Timarchus, father of Charidemus, 400.1
Timarchus, younger son of Timarchus, 434.46
Titans, ancestors of man, 408.10; not ancestors of man, 420.26
Troilus, 288.17
Troy, Helen brought disaster to, 266.23; 386.15
Tyndareüs, father of Clytemnestra, 148.6
Tyrians, 332.7
Xenophon, can satisfy all requirements of man in public life, 224.14; 226.15; 228.18
Xerxes, came with hosts of Asia, 110.23; obeyed captain of ship, 128.8; master of Asia, 198.14
Zethus, son of Zeus, 152.9; 154.13
Zeus, 26.24; 44.42; 68.54; 66.02; 76.75; 84.83; 86.84; imprisoned Cronus through love, 188.21; 152.9; 154.12; 262.20; 264.22; calls man most miserable living creature, 302.1; 420.26
Zeuxis, portrayed gods, 50.45

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY
RICHARD CLAY AND COMPANY, LTD.,
BUNGAY, SUFFOLK

THE LOEB CLASSICAL LIBRARY

VOLUMES ALREADY PUBLISHED

Latin Authors

AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS. Translated by J. C. Rolfe. 3 Vols.
(Vols. I. and II. 2nd Imp. revised.)

APULEIUS: THE GOLDEN ASS (*METAMORPHOSSES*). W. Adlington (1566). Revised by S. Gascoigne. (7th Imp.)

ST. AUGUSTINE, CONFESSIONS OF. W. Watts (1631). 2 Vols.
(Vol. I. 6th Imp., Vol. II. 5th Imp.)

ST. AUGUSTINE, SELECT LETTERS. J. H. Baxter.

AUSONIUS. H. G. Evelyn White. 2 Vols. (Vol. II. 2nd Imp.)

BEDE. J. E. King. 2 Vols.

BOETHIUS: TRACTS and *DE CONSOLATIONE PHILOSOPHIAE*. Rev. H. F. Stewart and E. K. Rand. (4th Imp.)

CAESAR: CIVIL WARS. A. G. Peskett. (4th Imp.)

CAESAR: GALlic WAR. H. J. Edwards. (9th Imp.)

CATO AND VARRO: *DE RE RUSTICA*. H. B. Ash and W. D. Hooper. (2nd Imp.)

CATULLUS. F. W. Cornish; TIBULLUS. J. B. Postgate; and PERVIGILIUM VENERIS. J. W. Mackail. (11th Imp.)

CELSUS: *DE MEDICINA*. W. G. Spencer. 3 Vols. (Vol. I. 3rd Imp. revised.)

CICERO: BRUTUS, and ORATOR. G. L. Hendrickson and H. M. Hubbell. (2nd Imp.)

CICERO: *DE FINIBUS*. H. Rackham. (3rd Imp. revised.)

CICERO: *DE INVENTIONE*, etc. H. M. Hubbell.

CICERO: *DE NATURA DEORUM* and *ACADEMICA*. H. Rackham.

CICERO: *DE OFFICIIS*. Walter Miller. (4th Imp.)

CICERO: *DE ORATORE*. 2 Vols. E. W. Sutton and H. Rackham. (2nd Imp.)

CICERO: *DE REPUBLICA* and *DE LEGIBUS*. Clinton W. Keyes. (3rd Imp.)

CICERO: *DE SENECTUTE*, *DE AMICITIA*, *DE DIVINATIONE*. W. A. Falconer. (5th Imp.)

CICERO: *IN CATILINAM*, *PRO FLACCO*, *PRO MURENA*, *PRO SULLA*. Louis E. Lord. (2nd Imp. revised.)

CICERO: LETTERS TO ATTICUS. E. O. Winstedt. 3 Vols.
(Vol. I. 6th Imp., Vol. II. 3rd Imp. and Vol. III. 3rd Imp.)

CICERO: LETTERS TO HIS FRIENDS. W. Glynn Williams. 3 Vols. (Vols. I. and II. 2nd Imp. revised.)

CICERO: PHILIPPICS. W. C. A. Ker. (2nd Imp. revised.)

Greek Authors

ACHILLES TATIUS. S. Gaselee. (*2nd Imp.*)
AENEAS TACTICUS, ASCLEPIODOTUS and ONASANDER. The Illinois Greek Club. (*2nd Imp.*)
AESCHINES. C. D. Adams. (*2nd Imp.*)
AESCHYLUS. H. Weir Smyth. 2 Vols. (Vol. I. *5th Imp.*, Vol. II. *4th Imp.*)
ANDOCIDES, ANTIPHON. Cf. MINOR ATTIC ORATORS.
ALCIPHRON, AELIAN, Philostratus: Letters. A. R. Benner and F. H. Fobes.
APOLLODORUS. Sir James G. Frazer. 2 Vols. (*2nd Imp.*)
APOLLONIUS RHODIUS. R. C. Seaton. (*4th Imp.*)
THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS. Kirsopp Lake. 2 Vols. (Vol. I. *6th Imp.*, Vol. II. *5th Imp.*)
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY. Horace White. 4 Vols. (Vol. I. *3rd Imp.*, Vols. II., III. and IV. *2nd Imp.*)
ARATUS. Cf. CALLIMACHUS.
ARISTOPHANES. Benjamin Bickley Rogers. 3 Vols. Verse trans. (*4th Imp.*)
ARISTOTLE: ART OF RHETORIC. J. H. Freese. (*3rd Imp.*)
ARISTOTLE: ATHENIAN CONSTITUTION, EUDEMIAN ETHICS, VICES AND VIRTUES. H. Rackham. (*2nd Imp.*)
ARISTOTLE: GENERATION OF ANIMALS. A. L. Peck. (*2nd Imp.*)
ARISTOTLE: METAPHYSICS. H. Tredennick. 2 Vols. (Vol. I. *3rd Imp.*, Vol. II. *2nd Imp.*)
ARISTOTLE: MINOR WORKS. W. S. Hett. On Colours, On Things Heard, On Physiognomics, On Plants, On Marvellous Things Heard, Mechanical Problems, On Indivisible Lines, On Position and Names of Winds.
ARISTOTLE: NICOMACHEAN ETHICS. H. Rackham. (*5th Imp. revised.*)
ARISTOTLE: OECONOMICA and MAGNA MORALIA. G. C. Armstrong; (with Metaphysics, Vol. II.). (*2nd Imp.*)
ARISTOTLE: ON THE HEAVENS. W. K. C. Guthrie. (*2nd Imp. revised.*)
ARISTOTLE: ON THE SOUL, PARVA NATURALIA, ON BREATH. W. S. Hett. (*2nd Imp. revised.*)
ARISTOTLE: ORGANON. H. P. Cooke and H. Tredennick. 2 Vols. (Vol. I. *2nd Imp.*)
ARISTOTLE: PARTS OF ANIMALS. A. L. Peck; MOTION AND PROGRESSION OF ANIMALS. E. S. Forster. (*2nd Imp. revised.*)
ARISTOTLE: PHYSICS. Rev. P. Wicksteed and F. M. Cornford. 2 Vols. (*2nd Imp.*)
ARISTOTLE: POETICS and LONGINUS. W. Hamilton Fyfe; DEMETRIUS ON STYLE. W. Rhys Roberts. (*3rd Imp. revised.*)
ARISTOTLE: POLITICS. H. Rackham. (*3rd Imp. revised.*)
ARISTOTLE: PROBLEMS. W. S. Hett. 2 Vols. (Vol. I. *2nd Imp. revised.*)

ARISTOTLE : RHETORICA AD ALEXANDRUM (with PROBLEMS, Vol. II.). H. Rackham.

ARRIAN : HISTORY OF ALEXANDER and INDICA. Rev. E. Iliffe Robson. 2 Vols. (2nd Imp.)

ATHENAEUS : DEIPNOSOPHISTAE. C. B. Gulick. 7 Vols. (Vols. I., V., and VI. 2nd Imp.)

ST. BASIL : LETTERS. R. J. Deferrari. 4 Vols. (Vols. I., II. and IV. 2nd Imp.)

CALLIMACHUS and LYCOPHRON. A. W. Mair; ARATUS. G. R. Mair. (2nd Imp.)

CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA. Rev. G. W. Butterworth. (2nd Imp.)

COLLUTHUS. Cf. OPPIAN.

DAPHNIS AND CHLOE. Thornley's Translation revised by J. M. Edmonds; and PARTHENIUS. S. Gascoigne. (3rd Imp.)

DEMOSTHENES I: OLYNTIACIS, PHILIPPICIS and MINOR ORATIONS: I.-XVII. and XX. J. H. Vince.

DEMOSTHENES II: DE CORONA and DE FALSA LEGATIONE. C. A. Vince and J. H. Vince. (2nd Imp. revised.)

DEMOSTHENES III: MEDIAS, ANDROTION, ARISTOCRATES, TIMOCRATES and ARISTOGEITON, I. and II. J. H. Vince.

DEMOSTHENES IV-VI: PRIVATE ORATIONS and IN NEAERAM. A. T. Murray. (Vol. I. 2nd Imp.)

DEMOSTHENES VII: FUNERAL SPEECH, EROTIC ESSAY, EXORDIA and LETTERS. N. W. and N. J. DeWitt.

DIO CASSIUS : ROMAN HISTORY. E. Cary. 9 Vols. (Vols. I. and II. 2nd Imp.)

DIO CHRYSOSTOM. J. W. Cohoon and H. Lamar Crosby. 5 Vols. Vols. I.-IV. (Vols. I. and II. 2nd Imp.)

DIODORUS SICULUS. 12 Vols. Vols. I.-IV. C. H. Oldfather. Vol. IX. R. M. Geer. (Vol. I. 2nd Imp.)

DIogenes LAERTIUS. R. D. Hicks. 2 Vols. (Vol. I. 3rd Imp., Vol. II. 2nd Imp.)

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS : ROMAN ANTIQUITIES. Spelman's translation revised by E. Cary. 7 Vols. Vols. I.-VI. (Vol. IV. 2nd Imp.)

EPICTETUS. W. A. Oldfather. 2 Vols. (Vols. I. and II. 2nd Imp.)

EURIPIDES. A. S. Way. 4 Vols. (Vols. I. and II. 6th Imp., Vols. III. and IV. 5th Imp.) Verse trans.

EUSEBIUS : ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY. Kirsopp Lake and J. E. L. Oulton. 2 Vols. (Vol. I. 2nd Imp., Vol. II. 3rd Imp.)

GALEN : ON THE NATURAL FACULTIES. A. J. Brock. (3rd Imp.)

THE GREEK ANTHOLOGY. W. R. Paton. 5 Vols. (Vols. I. and II. 4th Imp., Vols. III. and IV. 3rd Imp.)

GREEK ELEGY AND IAMBUS with the ANACREONTEA. J. M. Edmonds. 2 Vols. (Vol. I. 2nd Imp.)

THE GREEK BUCOLIC POETS (THEOCRITUS, BION, MOSCHUS). J. M. Edmonds. (6th Imp. revised.)

GREEK MATHEMATICAL WORKS. Ivor Thomas. 2 Vols. (2nd Imp.)
 HERODES. Cf. THEOPHRASTUS: CHARACTERS.
 HERODOTUS. A. D. Godley. 4 Vols. (Vol. I. 4th Imp., Vols. II.-IV. 3rd Imp.)
 HESIOD and THE HOMERIC HYMNS. H. G. Evelyn White. (6th Imp. revised and enlarged.)
 HIPPOCRATES and the FRAGMENTS OF HERACLEITUS. W. H. S. Jones and E. T. Withington. 4 Vols. (Vol. I. 3rd Imp., Vols. II.-IV. 2nd Imp.)
 HOMER: ILIAD. A. T. Murray. 2 Vols. (6th Imp.)
 HOMER: ODYSSEY. A. T. Murray. 2 Vols. (7th Imp.)
 ISAEUS. E. W. Forster. (2nd Imp.)
 ISOCRATES. George Norlin. 3 Vols.
 ST. JOHN DAMASCENE: BARLAAM AND IOASAPH. Rev. G. R. Woodward and Harold Mattingly. (2nd Imp. revised.)
 JOSEPHUS. H. St. J. Thackeray and Ralph Marcus. 9 Vols. Vols. I.-VI. (Vol. V. 3rd Imp., Vol. VI. 2nd Imp.)
 JULIAN. Wilmer Cave Wright. 3 Vols. (Vol. I. 2nd Imp., Vol. II. 3rd Imp.)
 LUCIAN. A. M. Harmon. 8 Vols. Vols. I.-V. (Vols. I-III. 3rd Imp.)
 LYCOPHRON. Cf. CALLIMACHUS.
 LYRA GRAECA. J. M. Edmonds. 3 Vols. (Vol. I. 3rd Imp., Vol. II. 2nd Ed. revised and enlarged, Vol. III. 3rd Imp. revised.)
 LYSIAS. W. R. M. Lamb. (2nd Imp.)
 MANETHO. W. G. Waddell: PTOLEMY: TETRABIBLOS. F. E. Robbins. (2nd Imp.)
 MARCUS AURELIUS. C. R. Haines. (3rd Imp. revised.)
 MENANDER. F. G. Allinson. (2nd Imp. revised.)
 MINOR ATTIC ORATORS (ANTIPHON, ANDOCIDES, DEMADES, DEINARCHUS, HYPERIDES). K. J. Maidment and J. O. Buffet. 2 Vols. Vol. I. K. J. Maidment.
 NONNOS. W. H. D. Rouse. 3 Vols. (Vol. III. 2nd Imp.)
 OPPIAN, COLLUTHUS, TRYPHIODORUS. A. W. Mair.
 PAPYRI. NON-LITERARY SELECTIONS. A. S. Hunt and C. C. Edgar. 2 Vols. (Vol. I. 2nd Imp.) LITERARY SELECTIONS. Vol. I. (Poetry). D. L. Page.
 PARTHENIUS. Cf. DAPHNIS AND CHLOE.
 PAUSANIAS: DESCRIPTION OF GREECE. W. H. S. Jones. 5 Vols. and Companion Vol. (Vols. I. and III. 2nd Imp.)
 PHILO. 10 Vols. Vols. I.-V.; F. H. Colson and Rev. G. H. Whitaker. Vols. VI.-IX.; F. H. Colson. (Vols. I., II., V., VI. and VII. 2nd Imp., Vol. IV. 3rd Imp.)
 PHILOSTRATUS: THE LIFE OF APOLLONIUS OF TYANA. F. C. Conybeare. 2 Vols. (Vol. I. 4th Imp., Vol. II. 3rd Imp.)
 PHILOSTRATUS: IMAGINES; CALLISTRATUS: DESCRIPTIONS. A. Fairbanks.
 PHILOSTRATUS and EUNAPIUS: LIVES OF THE SOPHISTS. Wilmer Cave Wright. (2nd Imp.)

PINDAR. Sir J. E. Sandys. (*7th Imp. revised.*)

PLATO : CHARMIDES, ALCIBIADES, HIPPARCUS, THE LOVERS, THEAGES, MINOS and EPINOMIS. W. R. M. Lamb.

PLATO : CRATYLUS, PARMENIDES, GREATER HIPPIAS, LESSER HIPPIAS. H. N. Fowler. (*2nd Imp.*)

PLATO : EUTHYPHRO, APOLOGY, CRITO, PHAEDO, PHAEDRUS. H. N. Fowler. (*9th Imp.*)

PLATO : LACHES, PROTAGORAS, MENO, EUTHYDEMU.S. W. R. M. Lamb. (*2nd Imp. revised.*)

PLATO : LAWS. Rev. R. G. Bury. 2 Vols. (*2nd Imp.*)

PLATO : LYSIS, SYMPOSIUM, GORGIAS. W. R. M. Lamb. (*4th Imp. revised.*)

PLATO : REPUBLIC. Paul Shorey. 2 Vols. (Vol. I. *4th Imp.*, Vol. II. *3rd Imp.*)

PLATO : STATESMAN, PHILEBUS. H. N. Fowler; ION. W. R. M. Lamb. (*3rd Imp.*)

PLATO : THEAETETUS and SOPHIST. H. N. Fowler. (*3rd Imp.*)

PLATO : TIMAEUS, CRITIAS, CLITOPHO, MENEXENUS, EPISTULAE. Rev. R. G. Bury. (*2nd Imp.*)

PLUTARCH : MORALIA. 14 Vols. Vols. I.—V. F. C. Babbitt; Vol. VI. W. C. Helmbold; Vol. X. H. N. Fowler. (Vols. I., III., and X. *2nd Imp.*)

PLUTARCH : THE PARALLEL LIVES. B. Perrin. 11 Vols. (Vols. I., II., and VII. *3rd Imp.*, Vols. III., IV., VI., and VIII.—XI. *2nd Imp.*)

POLYBIUS. W. R. Paton. 6 Vols.

PROCOPIUS : HISTORY OF THE WARS. H. B. Dewing. 7 Vols. (Vol. I. *2nd Imp.*)

PTOLEMY : TETRABIBLOS. Cf. MANETHO.

QUINTUS SMYRNAEUS. A. S. Way. Verse trans. (*2nd Imp.*)

SEXTUS EMPIRICUS. Rev. R. G. Bury. 4 Vols. (Vol. III. *2nd Imp.*)

SOPHOCLES. F. Storr. 2 Vols. (Vol. I. *7th Imp.*, Vol. II. *5th Imp.*) Verse trans.

STRABO : GEOGRAPHY. Horace L. Jones. 8 Vols. (Vols. I. *3rd Imp.*, Vols. II., V., VI., and VIII. *2nd Imp.*)

THEOPHRASTUS : CHARACTERS. J. M. Edmonds; HERODES, etc. A. D. Knox. (*2nd Imp.*)

THEOPHRASTUS : ENQUIRY INTO PLANTS. Sir Arthur Hort., Bart. 2 Vols. (*2nd Imp.*)

THUCYDIDES. C. F. Smith. 4 Vols. (Vol. I. *3rd Imp.*, Vols. II., III. and IV. *2nd Imp. revised.*)

TRYPHODORUS. Cf. OPPIAN.

XENOPHON : CYropaedia. Walter Miller. 2 Vols. (*3rd Imp.*)

XENOPHON : HELLENICA, ANABASIS, APOLOGY, and SYMPOSIUM. C. L. Brownson and O. J. Todd. 3 Vols. (*3rd Imp.*)

XENOPHON : MEMORABILIA and OECONOMICUS. E. C. Marchant. (*2nd Imp.*)

XENOPHON : SCRIPTA MINORA. E. C. Marchant. (*2nd Imp.*)

IN PREPARATION

Greek Authors

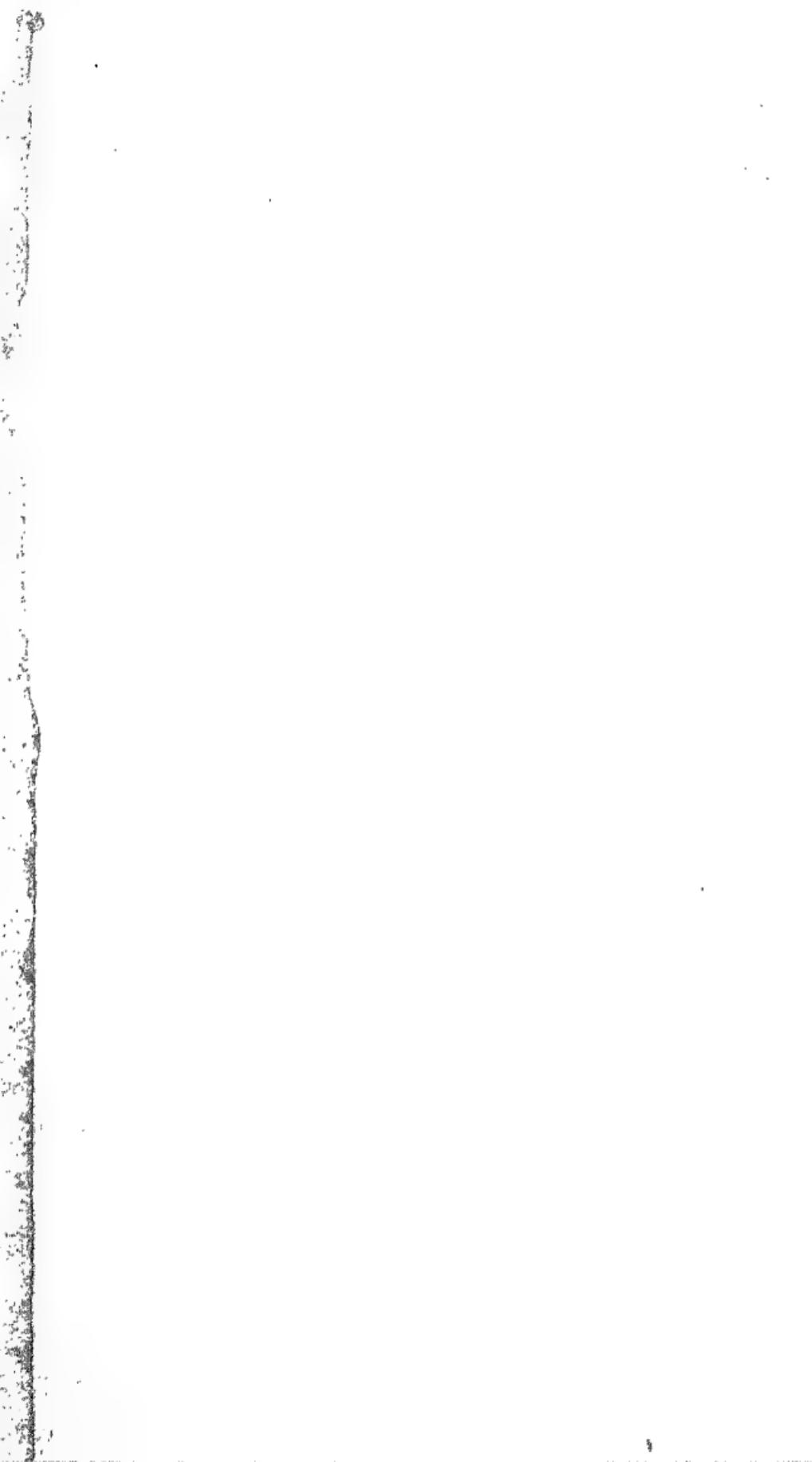
ARISTOTLE : DE MUNDO. W. K. C. Guthrie.
ARISTOTLE : HISTORY OF ANIMALS. A. L. Peck.
ARISTOTLE : METEOROLOGICA. H. P. Lee.

Latin Authors

ST. AUGUSTINE : CITY OF GOD.
[CICERO] : AD HERENNIA, H. Caplan.
CICERO : PRO SESTIO, IN Vatinium, PRO CAELIO, DE PROVINCIIS
CONSULARIBUS, PRO BALBO. J. H. Freese and R. Gardner.

DESCRIPTIVE PROSPECTUS ON APPLICATION

London - - - - - WILLIAM HEINEMANN LTD
Cambridge, Mass - - - HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS



CICERO : PRO ARCHIA, POST REDITUM, DE DOMO, DE HARUSPICUM RESPONSIS, PRO PLANCIO. N. H. Watts. (2nd Imp.)

CICERO : PRO CAECINA, PRO LEGE MANILIA, PRO CLEVENTIO, PRO RABIRIO. H. Grose Hedge. (2nd Imp.)

CICERO : PRO MILONE, IN PISONEM, PRO SCAURO, PRO FONTEIO, PRO RABIRIO POSTUMO, PRO MARCELLO, PRO LIGARIO, PRO REGE DEIOTARO. N. H. Watts.

CICERO : PRO QUINTIO, PRO ROSCIO AMERINO, PRO ROSCIO COMOEDO, CONTRA RULLUM. J. H. Freese. (2nd Imp.)

CICERO : TUSCULAN DISPUTATIONS. J. E. King. (2nd Imp.)

CICERO : VERRINE ORATIONS. L. H. G. Greenwood. 2 Vols. (Vol. I. 2nd Imp.)

CLAUDIAN. M. Platnauer. 2 Vols.

COLUMELLA : DE RE RUSTICA. H. B. Ash. 3 Vols. Vol. I. (2nd Imp.)

CURTIUS, Q. : HISTORY OF ALEXANDER. J. C. Rolfe. 2 Vols.

FLORUS. E. S. Forster, and CORNELIUS NEPOS. J. C. Rolfe. (2nd Imp.)

FRONTINUS : STRATAGEMS and AQUEDUCTS. C. E. Bennett and M. B. McElwain. (2nd Imp.)

FRONTO : CORRESPONDENCE. C. R. Haines. 2 Vols.

GELLIUS. J. C. Rolfe. 3 Vols. (Vol. I. and II. 2nd Imp.)

HORACE : ODES and EPODES. C. E. Bennett. (13th Imp., revised.)

HORACE : SATIRES, EPISTLES, ARS POETICA. H. R. Fairelough. (6th Imp., revised.)

JEROME : SELECTED LETTERS. F. A. Wright.

JUVENAL and PERSIUS. G. G. Ramsay. (6th Imp.)

LIVY. B. O. Foster, F. G. Moore, Evan T. Sage, and A. C. Schlesinger. 14 Vols. Vols. I.-XII. (Vol. I. 3rd Imp., Vols. II.-V., VII., IX.-XII., 2nd Imp. revised.)

LUCAN. J. D. Duff. (2nd Imp.)

LUCRETIUS. W. H. D. Rouse. (6th Imp., revised.)

MARTIAL. W. G. A. Ker. 2 Vols. (Vol. I. 4th Imp., Vol. II. 3rd Imp. revised.)

MINOR LATIN POETS : from PUBLILIUS SYRUS to RUTILIUS NAMATIANUS, including GRATTIUS, CALPURNIUS SICULUS, NEMESIANUS, AVIANUS, and others with "Aetna" and the "Phoenix." J. Wight Duff and Arnold M. Duff. (2nd Imp.)

OVID : THE ART OF LOVE AND OTHER POEMS. J. H. Mozley. (3rd Imp.)

OVID : FASTI. Sir James G. Frazer.

OVID : HEROIDES and AMORES. Grant Showman. (4th Imp.)

OVID : METAMORPHOSES. F. J. Miller. 2 Vols. (Vol. I. 9th Imp., Vol. II. 7th Imp.)

OVID : TRISTIA and EX PONTO. A. L. Wheeler. (2nd Imp.)

PERSIUS. Cf. JUVENAL.

PETRONIUS. M. Heseltine; SENECA : APOCOLOGYNTOSIS. W. H. D. Rouse. (7th Imp. revised.)

PLAUTUS. Paul Nixon. 5 Vols. (Vols. I. and II. 4th Imp., Vol. III. 3rd Imp.)

PLINY : LETTERS. Melmoth's Translation revised by W. M. L. Hutchinson. 2 Vols. (5th Imp.)

PLINY : NATURAL HISTORY. H. Rackham and W. H. S. Jones. 10 Vols. Vols. I.-V. H. Rackham. (Vols. I.-III. 2nd Imp.)

PROPERTIUS. H. E. Butler. (5th Imp.)

PRUDENTIUS. H. J. Thomson. 2 Vols. Vol. I.

QUINTILIAN. H. E. Butler. 4 Vols. (2nd Imp.)

REMAINS OF OLD LATIN. E. H. Warmington. 4 Vols. Vol. I. (ENNIS AND CAECILIUS.) Vol. II. (LIVIUS, NAEVIUS, PACUVIUS, ACCIUS.) Vol. III. (LUCILIUS and LAWS OF XII TABLES.) Vol. IV. (2nd Imp.) (ARCHAIC INSCRIPTIONS.)

SALLUST. J. C. Rolfe. (3rd Imp. revised.)

SCRIPTORES HISTORIAE AUGUSTAE. D. Magie. 3 Vols. (Vol. I. 2nd Imp. revised.)

SENECA : APOCOLOGYNTOSIS. Cf. PETRONIUS.

SENECA : EPISTULAE MORALES. R. M. Gummere. 3 Vols. (Vol. I. 3rd Imp., Vols. II. and III. 2nd Imp. revised.)

SENECA : MORAL ESSAYS. J. W. Basore. 3 Vols. (Vol. II. 3rd Imp., Vol. III. 2nd Imp. revised.)

SENECA : TRAGEDIES. F. J. Miller. 2 Vols. (Vol. I. 3rd Imp., Vol. II. 2nd Imp. revised.)

SIDONIUS : POEMS and LETTERS. W. B. Anderson. 2 Vols. Vol. I.

SILIUS ITALICUS. J. D. Duff. 2 Vols. (Vol. I. 2nd Imp., Vol. II. 3rd Imp.)

STATIUS. J. H. Mozley. 2 Vols.

SUETONIUS. J. C. Rolfe. 2 Vols. (Vol. I. 6th Imp., Vol. II. 5th Imp. revised.)

TACITUS : DIALOGUS. Sir Wm. Peterson. AGRICOLA and GERMANIA. Maurice Hutton. (6th Imp.)

TACITUS : HISTORIES and ANNALS. C. H. Moore and J. Jackson. 4 Vols. (Vols. I. and II. 2nd Imp.)

TERENCE. John Sargeaunt. 2 Vols. (6th Imp.)

TERTULLIAN : APOLOGIA and DE SPECTACULIS. T. R. Glover.

MINUCIUS FELIX. G. H. Rendall.

VALERIUS FLACCUS. J. H. Mozley. (2nd Imp. revised.)

VARRO : DE LINGUA LATINA. R. G. Kent. 2 Vols. (2nd Imp.)

VELLEIUS PATERCULUS and RES GESTAE DIVI AUGUSTI. F. W. Shipley.

VIRGIL. H. R. Fairclough. 2 Vols. (Vol. I. 16th Imp., Vol. II. 12th Imp. revised.)

VITRUVIUS : DE ARCHITECTURA. F. Granger. 2 Vols. (Vol. I. 2nd Imp.)



CENTRAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL LIBRARY,
NEW DELHI

Borrower's Record

Catalogue No. 880.4/Dic/Coh-921

Author— Cæsæn, J. W. - Tr.

Title— Dic Chrysostom.
Vo 1.II,

Borrower No.	Date of Issue	Date of Return

"A book that is shut is but a block"

CENTRAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL LIBRARY
GOVT. OF INDIA
Department of Archaeology
NEW DELHI.

Please keep the book
long.